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FBIS-EEU-90-082 *27 April 1990*

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Human Rights Cooperation Discussed With U.S.

AU2704084290 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 26 Apr 90

["U.S. Undersecretary of State Discusses Human Rights in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—Cooperation in the sphere of human rights was the topic of the conversation between the visiting U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice.

In the talks held between the guest and the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Staykov, and First Deputy Minister of Justice, Angel Dzhambazov, issues were discussed which will be considered at the forthcoming forum in Copenhagen, an event in the frames of the all-European process. The interlocutors discussed the possibilities for international cooperation in the establishment of lawfulness in Bulgaria, the functioning of the democratic institutions, the independence of the legal system. The U.S. readiness was expressed as well as Bulgaria's interest for bilateral cooperation.

Mr Richard Schifter was received by Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov.

RFE Director Impressed During Visit

AU2604184390 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Radio Free Europe and Bulgarian Elections"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—I have seen Bulgaria amidst the process of great changes. I am particularly impressed with the enormous political activity, Mr. Ross Johnson, director of Radio Free Europe told a BTA reporter upon his departure. He paid a four-day visit here together with Mr. Kiril Panov, director of Radio Free Europe's Bulgarian Service. The two met with representatives of the political parties which will contest the first free elections.

Mr. Johnson added that in his view the beginning was good, an authentic progress to a new more liberal life, positive changes in the media, in radio and TV are observed. The two met representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party as well as Bulgarian Socialist Party officials. The sides spoke of the plans and election campaigns. Mr. Johnson said he had gotten a better idea of how to cover the campaign. He added they will take no sides, as their activity is to aid all parties and groups to have equal access to the people of Bulgaria. They interviewed people of all parties and they will inform of all political platforms. They also wanted to understand how Radio Free Europe could help the carrying out of a free election campaign.

Regarding the future of Radio Free Europe in the new conditions Mr. Johnson noted there would be competition in which both sides will change. New programs on the West's democratic experience are prepared, and the reports on what is happening in the East European countries and in the Soviet Union in particular are continuing.

Unfulfilled Cuban Sugar Contract Noted

AU2704074190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 p 2

["Own information" report: "Why Has No Cuban Sugar Arrived?"]

[Text] A contract is in force for the delivery of 300,000 tonnes of Cuban sugar during 1990. This contract has not been fulfilled for months, and so far not a single tonne has arrived in the country.

Two Bulgarian ships waited in Cuba for more than a month to receive cargoes. One of them was diverted to another destination, and the second was loaded with sugar purchased by "Khraneksport" through a West European country in convertible currency (at present one tonne of sugar costs around 360 dollars).

Because of the seasonal nature of Cuban sugar production and export, the deliveries are almost entirely completed in the first half of the year. In view of the fact that we are now at the end of April and none of the contracted amount has yet been loaded, the prospects for meeting the domestic market demand are far from rosy. The voyage from Cuba takes around 25 days, and at least 10 days are required for unloading, so that the first deliveries (if indeed any are obtained) cannot arrive earlier than the end of May.

In addition, sugar production in Cuba ends in June, which indicates that the possibilities of delivering the bulk of the quantity contracted for 1990 are no longer realistic, even given the best will of the two countries to complete the deal. To this one must add that the sugar imported from Cuba is untreated and must be refined before it is put on the market, which also requires time.

According to our correspondent in Havana, the possible reasons for the nonfulfillment of the Cuban sugar deliveries include the delay in collecting this year's sugar harvest, the lower yield, the current world market position, and the changes in EastEurope. According to Lyuben Vasilev, chief of commodity trading operations in the Bulgarian trade and economic service in Cuba, the nondelivery is also caused by certain omissions on our part: "If we strictly fulfill our own obligations relating to the export contract, the Cuban side will also act correctly. However, when this is not done, our partner has serious food for thought."

However, in the view of our competent specialists, the explanation for the delay in the deliveries as a reaction to our failure to carry out our commitments is not born out

by the actual facts. Despite the difficulties in our economy, the deliveries of Bulgarian exports to Cuba have been fulfilled this year no less satisfactorily than in previous years. We also export food products such as lard (part of which has been delivered ahead of schedule), and the deliveries of frozen chickens are also being fulfilled.

The best indicator that our deliveries are not lagging behind in relation to the fulfillment of Cuban exports to Bulgaria is the fact that Cuba's debit balance in relation to Bulgaria, which has accumulated over the years, is not decreasing. Quite the contrary, for this year's goods exchange Cuba now owes Bulgaria about 80 million rubles.

The issue now is whether we will be able to receive the Cuban sugar we need so urgently. We are purchasing this sugar in rubles at preferential prices (445 rubles a tonne), which are higher than the international rates but are incomparably more advantageous for us, since the alternative prospect is for us to seek to buy sugar on the world market for valuable convertible currency, which we lack in any case.

The third possibility is for us not to eat sweets and to drink unsweetened coffee.

Iceland Cancels Agreement on Visas

AU2604174690 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Iceland Also Restricts Bulgarian's Visits"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—Iceland's Government unilaterally and partially terminated the action of the agreement for removal of visas concluded between the Governments of Bulgaria and Iceland. In future, the Bulgarian citizens who are travelling to or through Iceland and with ordinary or service foreign passports should have entry or exit transit visas.

The Government of Iceland grounded its resolution with the situation which existed in the last few weeks when Bulgarian citizens looked for work in Iceland, as the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports.

Investigation of Todor Zhivkov Continues

AU2604184790 Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Experts Check on Todor Zhivkov's Guilt"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—Expert checks clarify the guilt and personal responsibility of Todor Zhivkov who is on remand of all charges, reads a brief statement of the Chief Prosecution, furnishing no other details.

The crimes perpetrated at the camps near Lovech and Skravena between 1959 and 1962 are being investigated at an accelerated pace, Chief Prosecutor Evtim Stoimenov told a parliamentary commission investigating deformations and law violations during the totalitarian regime.

The commission has greenlighted a new list of rehabilitation of unjustifiably sentenced and repressed political activists and citizens. It has urged the Ministry of Finances to speed up the release of a normative document on reparations and compensations of those repressed.

Green Party Leader Predicts End of BSP

AU2604185290 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Leader of "Greens" Predicts End of BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—Though comparatively young the Green Party in Bulgaria has, to a certain extent the image of " a veteran", as it was one of the first parties founded after November 10, 1989. The Greens think that they belong to the united opposition and believe that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] is the organization which in some kind of way defends the principles which are underlying in the basis of the struggle for democracy in this country.

The party chairman, Aleksandur Karakachanov told journalists today that the means which the organization has are from membership taxes, gifts and sale of propaganda materials and from charity concerts. The party has about 10,000 members and there are already 90 organizations in the country.

Asked if the Green party will participate in a coalition government with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], if the latter wins the elections, the leader of the Greens posed a question himself: "Do you think that there will be a BSP after the elections?"

Radical Democratic Party Opposes Socialism

AU2604182490 Sofia BTA in English 1638 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Radical-Democratic Party Does Not Acknowledge Socialism as a Social System"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—We are the only party in Bulgaria that does not fight for a total possession of the whole Bulgarian population. We are convinced that the aggressive behavior of a political force which imagines that it can alone rule and establish its ideology as the only one, are all symptoms of a heavy disease , said Dr. Elka Konstantinova, chairwoman of the Radical-Democratic Party.

At a press conference she stated the major points in the program of Radical-Democrats. They are trying to build a modern party which is turned to the 21 century, a party of followers who have agreed that the major task of the

Radical-Democrat today is to struggle for improvement of his own culture and of the culture of his compatriots. The members and followers of this party will defend their understanding of policy as a field in which the only thing which should rule is ethics.

The Radical-Democratic Party does acknowledge socialism as a social system in either of its versions.

For us, the party leader said, socialism is doomed and should get off the social stage as soon as possible.

As a member of the Union of the Democratic Forces, Radical-Democrats will participate in the overthrowing and eradication of all signs of totalitarism in Bulgaria.

Health Care, Farming Reforms Initiated

AU2604185090 Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 26 Apr 90

["The Government Suggests Radical Reforms of Healthcare and Farming"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26, (BTA)—The Council of Ministers suggests a privatization of healthcare, with a draft bill discussed today, to be submitted to Parliament soon.

The essence is for healthcare activity to be carried out at private, cooperative, joint-stock and other associations, apart from the existing state hospitals and health establishments.

The draft bill on the land and its use offers conditions for an equitable existence of private companies and cooperative associations of the peasants. It aims to regulate the key problem of land property, placing barriers before land speculations, its parceling and other unfavorable privatization consequences.

The draft bill on the land will be soon made public for nationwide deliberation before its voting in Parliament.

A Government session here today reviewed the cancellation of the existing "permanent residence" system which binds Bulgarians to the towns they live in.

Lloyd's Reportedly Asked as Financal Consultant

AU2604104090 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 90 p 1

[Boyko Nikolov article: "Will We Have a Banking Consultant?"]

[Text] We have learned from well-informed sources that Bulgarian representatives have contacted the world famous insurance association and bank Lloyd's. The motive was to seek a private international consultant to advise Bulgaria on solving the country's serious financial and economic problems and, most of all, on the problem of the payments on our vast foreign debt, which were suspended on 26 March.

This situation has put us in an unenviable light not only for our creditors, but also in the eyes of the entire business and financial world. The possibilities within the near future of restoring confidence and making a start on rebuilding our shattered economy do not offer much choice. The choice mainly lies between the "prescriptions" of the IMF and the World Bank and the proposition made by DEMOKRATSIYA in the article it published in its issue of 14 April ("Can Bulgaria Escape Bankruptcy"). This article discussed the alternative that Bulgaria should approach one of the 15 most authoritative banks in the world, to which we have no particular obligations, and for this bank to assume the role of acting not only as our creditor, but also as our "advocate" in relation to the financial and business world.

In fact what is important is not the question of who made the proposal (if indeed contacts have been made with Lloyd's in this context), but the prospect of finding such a way out of the crisis, which might spare the people as much as possible from the inevitable deprivations.

Business Group To Convene Congress 28-29 Apr

AU2604124690 Sofia BTA in English 1158 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—The Citizens' Economic Initiative Union (CEIU) established in December last year will hold its congress on April 28-29, 1990. At today's press conference Mr. Valentin Mollov, chairman of the CEIU, announced that the congress is going to be a working one and that the private business strategy will be determined at it. Among those invited to the congress are Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and the chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, other members and representatives of the Government and the opposition and guests from similar foreign organizations.

The union is independent of any political party, but in the forthcoming elections it will back up the political force, the platform of which is in conformity with our economic interests, Mr. Valentin Mollov stated. According to him the private businessmen's demands are 100 per cent the same as those of the opposition. The question of the attitude of the CEIU members towards the political parties in the elections will be discussed at the congress.

Mr. Mollov commented on some discrepancies between the constitution amendment law which declares that all forms of property enjoy the same rights and the "discrimination measures" applied with regard to the private sector on the strength of some normative acts. An example was mentioned which shows that the tax imposed on private companies for a profit of 100 thousand leva comes up to 85 thousand leva. In all probability the congress will come out with some concrete decisions and recommendations which will be presented to the Government.

A proposal will be made to the delegates to vote for the formation of a CEIU special foreign trade unit a consortium and for a bank which will grant credits, under definite terms, to the members of the CEIU, foreign currency credits included.

At the moment the membership of the Citizens' Economic Initiative Union is about 4,000 individual, private and collective companies.

False Rumors Said Prompting Fuel Shortages

AU2604194090 Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Problems With Petrol Deliveries"—BTA headline]

[Text] Burgas, April 26 (BTA)—The general director of Bulgaria's biggest company "Neftokhim" told reporters the rumors of petrol shortages in the country as a result of symbolic strike at the Burgas Petro-Chemical Combined Works are false. He admitted, however, that due to a slump in imports since the beginning of the year the works has processed 700 thousand tonnes of oil down on last year. Nonetheless, the works has been fulfilling its contractual obligations smoothly. The temporary fuel shortages in petrol stations is due to the citizens' stocking up petrol due to false rumors.

Last week people queued up between four and eight hours to buy petrol in Sofia.

A roundtable at "Neftokhim" today with the participation of strike committee representatives reached an agreement for workers' demands to be sent to the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers. The symbolic strike will end tomorrow.

1st Issue of MUSLIMS Newspaper Published

AU2604173890 Sofia BTA in English 1536 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—"With the blessing of the merciful and compassionate Allah the first issue of the MUSLIMS newspaper came out, a publication of the Chief Mufti of the Muslim denomination in the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

That is how the leading article of the newly published newspaper begins which will come twice a month in Bulgarian and Turkish.

The article recalls about abuses of Muslims religious rights and freedoms at the time of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria. More than 700 mosques had been closed down, celebration of religious holidays and the education of clergymen had been impeded.

Things became especially difficult after the launching of the so-called "regeneration process"in 1984-1985 which infringed our most sacred right: the right to carry our Muslim names, the MUSLIMS newspaper writes and tells that 300,000 Muslims left Bulgaria in 1989 due to the extremely difficult conditions for Muslims in Bulgaria then and the pressure that was exerted on them.

For us, Muslims, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is our fatherland. We were born here, our grandfathers were born here, our children were born here and we would like them to work here. We are Bulgarian citizens and part of Bulgaria's population. Our belonging to the Islam cannot give grounds to treat us differently, MUSLIMS writes.

The paper writes that the events which took place after November 10, 1989 give hopes for the guaranteeing of Muslims' human rights. Mosques have been open and according to the instructions of Seriat, prayers and rituals are performed five times. Circumcision is done in hospitals, names are restored, religious literature is freely supplied, including the sacred book of Muslims the Koran. Muslim graves are restored, burials are done according to the Seriat.

The Chief Mufti's Office has addressed demands for opening of a Muslims religious school for education of Imams, for restoration of the property right on the Waqf property. At this stage the restoration of the destroyed prayer houses and the demand of the Mufties for compensation of losses still remains to be a problem.

We hope that the just issues will find their positive solutions as we see in the present leadership of the country the desire to do away with the consequences of the totalitarian regime, MUSLIMS writes. A stress is made in the article that national concord has no alternative for Bulgaria and all Bulgarian citizens, irrespective of their religion and national self-identity "should try to build first their common Bulgarian home, and after that look for a common European home."

MUSLIMS expresses conviction that with the almighty Allah's blessing the difficulties with the paper provision and the newspaper support will be overcome.

The Editorial Board of this paper includes the Chief Mufti of Muslims in Bulgaria Dr. Hadji Nedim Hafiz Ibrahim Gendzhev and other clergymen.

The daily runs a report about a session of the Supreme Spiritual Council, at which the fees were set for religious rituals and instructions given for management of the properties of the Muslim denomination. There are articles about the life of the sacred Mohammed, preaches and religious addresses on the occasion of the holiday Ramadan Bayram, etc.

Up till February 1985 the NOVA SVETLINA (New Light) newspaper used to be published in Bulgarian and Turkish. After that this paper continued to be published only in the Bulgarian.

Havel Continues Official Visit to Israel

Speaks at Shamir-Hosted Lunch

LD2604225490 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Jerusalem April 26 (CTK correspondent)—The current state visit to Israel "made it possible to draw on the formerly good mutual relations broken by the communist system," Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said here Thursday at a luncheon given in his honour by Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir.

He stated that the current visit enabled him to understand Israel's situation and the opinions of Israeli representatives and the public. Vaclav havel mentioned especially the beginning of talks about the possibilities of Soviet Jews' transit to Israel across Czechoslovakia.

Israeli Premier Shamir characterized the present stage of developdment as a "process of opening a new chapter in bilateral relations, as we hope the chapter of friendship and cooperation. This will also include resumption of mutual ties and cooperation at many levels."

He condemned the "satanic plan of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its leader Yasir 'Arafat," expressing his absolute rejection of any peace talks with this Palestinian representative, both direct or mediated.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel delivered a greeting speech at an opening session of the World Congress of Czechoslovak Jews early evening.

He spoke about the specific legacy of Tomas Garigue Masaryk, the first Czechoslovak President (1918-1935), who proved that decency and honesty may be saved even in the period of rising antisemitism. He condemned the cruelties committed on Jews in the 1940's and 1950's.

The Czechoslovak president met today also with several prominent Palestinian personalities.

Ends Visit

LD2704102390 Prague CTK in English 0825 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Jerusalem April 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's three-d y official visit to Israel ended today with a farewell ceremony in the Jerusalem Rose Garden near the Knesset building.

Journalists were today acquainted with a memorandum on mutual understanding that was signed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Israeli counterpart Moshe Arens.

According to the document, the two sides agreed to start talks of experts on signing an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation, tourism and a halt to double taxation, on trade cooperation and cooperation in the sphere of culture. Also formed will be Czechoslovak-Israeli inter-government commissions for trade and scientific-technological cooperation.

After the ceremony that ended the official part of the visit, the Czechoslovak president and his entourage left for Tel Aviv. They visited the museum of the Jewish diaspora where they saw an exhibition "Thousand years of Jews in Czechoslovakia" organized in cooperation with the State Jewish Museum in Prague. Then the Czechoslovak delegation inspected an agricultural cooperative farm Kefar Masaryk near Haifa in northern Israel. This farm was founded by Jewish immigrants from Czechoslovakia.

On his return to Tel Aviv by helicopter shortly before his departure for Prague, President Vaclav Havel gave a press conference.

Financial Problems Hinder Soviet Withdrawal

LD2604153190 Prague CTK in English 1303 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—The head of a parliamentary commission supervising the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia said today that financial compensation was the main stumbling-block during talks on the pullout of Soviet troops.

Josef Macek told CTK that complicated is, for instance, the question of installations built for Soviet money. A decision must be made whether to deduct Soviet costs from the total amount of reparations or whether to pay the USSR.

Soviet troops have been in Czechoslovakia since the invasion of the country in August 1968 by armies of five Warsaw Pact countries, aimed to suppress the 1968 Prague Spring reform movement.

Josef Macek stated that financial issues should be discussed in particular by the federal finance and the foreign ministries but their representatives were absent from today's meeting of the parliamentary commission. He added that this was hindering the commission's work and jeopardizing early financial compensation.

The commission which met together with representatives of national committees (bodies of local administration) in places which Soviet troops are leaving discussed also the guarding of deserted installations be guarded by the army. The commission also called for army assistance in the engineering and technical control of installations and areas abandoned by Soviet troops as unexploded grenades and mines are found in the training areas. Other problems include the use of buildings built according to Soviet technology and many a time without permission, Macek said.

Bill Passed Allowing 'Free Travel' Abroad

AU2704145890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Dalibor Macha report: "There and Back Freely"]

[Text] Prague (From our correspondent)—A bill intended to ensure free travel to foreign countries and citizens' unrestricted return home was passed by the Federal Government on Monday [23 April]. This information was provided by Interior Minister Richard Sacher.

The era in which a travel document could be taken away or rejected at will by the organs of state administration is over. From 1 July onward, the issuing of a travel document may be rejected only on the basis of a criminal prosecution or nonpayment of alimony or financial obligations (i.e., objections such as "not in conformity with state interests" are gone). This law follows up on the abolition of exit visas. According to the law, in most cases only an identity card and the necessary number of photos are required to be submitted with the application for a travel document for trip abroad or for permanent residence in a foreign country. Written approval by the military administration is needed only in periods of exceptional measures and if the citizen who applies for permanent residence abroad is subject to draft duty.

The correspondent from the Voice of America expressed his worries to the interior minister about whether the Office for Foreigners [urad pro cizince] monitors foreign journalists. R. Sacher has calmed him down by saying that this office was nothing other than an institution of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. On the subject of wide-spread fears about eavesdropping on telephone conversations, he confirmed again that such installations were not in operation. The ministry is compiling a list of premises, apartments, and persons where these installations are located. The ministry will inform the concerned persons and will remove them upon request.

Brno Rally Supports Prague Prosecutor Sokol

LD2604102390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Despite the disapproval of the Council of Brno National Committee, a rally took place at Freedom Square today [25 April] involving supporters of independent candidates to the Federal Assembly, from the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia [Republikanska Strana Ceskoslovenska], the Moravian Civic Movement [Moravska Obcanske Hnuti], the Movement for Civic Freedom [Hnuti za Obcanskou Svobodu], and from other initiatives.

The speakers were evaluating the situation at Brno Town Hall. The rally's participants gave their backing to the statement by Prague city prosecutor [Tomas Sokol] concerning the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the intended action instigated by the Civic Forum from the CKD Semiconductors factory in Prague.

Election Polls Show CPCZ With 12 Percent

AU2604191390

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 April on page 3, under the headline "One-Fifth Undecided," carries a 400-word "jape"-signed article dealing with election polls. According to the article, "the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] would win 12 percent of the vote, the Green Party would win 11 percent, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and Czechoslovak Social Democracy would each win six percent. The Democratic Party would win three percent as would the Alliance of Agrarians and the Countryside. Four percent of citizens would vote for the remaining parties".

Gypsy Organizations Reach Coalition Agreement

AU2604140590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 90 p 2

[CTK report from the "Briefly from Home" column: "Unification of Romanies in Slovakia"]

[Text] Talks between representatives of the Party of the Democratic Union of Romanies in Slovakia [SDUR] and the Democratic Association of Romanies [DZR] in Slovakia were held in Banska Bystrica yesterday [22 April]. The talks resulted in the agreement to unite the Romanies in Slovakia. To prevent a fragmentation of forces, they will contest as "romanies"—with a joint list of candidates—the elections to the Federal Assembly, the Slovak National Council, and national committees. The SDUR and the DZR in Slovakia will demand that Romanies be recognized as an ethnic group with all the rights and obligations of a national minority and that this status be enshrined in the Constitution of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

Media Objectivity Urged in Wake of Elections

LD2604202190 Prague CTK in English 1830 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Governments today issued a draft statement on the mass media's activity before the June parliamentary elections, expressing concern over mounting attempts to influence Czechoslovak Television and Czechoslovak Radio from closely party and time-serving positions.

They stressed that in the pre-election period, the state-run information media should be examples of democratic and highly moral journalistic work, offering objective information in order to help the national understanding governments ensure calm development before, during and after the elections until new legislation on the mass media is passed.

The governments also stressed the duty of Czechoslovak Television and Czechoslovak Radio to stick to objective and transparty positions.

CPCZ Central Committee Holds Plenum 21 Apr

AU2604125590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 April on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,900-word Vlastimil Bradac, Dalibor Macha, Vaclav Pergl, and Igor Sirota report on the fourth session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, which was held in Prague on 21 April. The report is published under the headline "We Are in Favor of a Policy of Reason and Tolerance." On the same day, on page 5, under the headline "On the Present State and Immediate Tasks of the CPCZ in Preparing for the Elections," RUDE PRAVO carries 3,400-word excerpts from a speech delivered at the session by Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. On 23 April on page 1, RUDE PRAVO also publishes a 300-word "CPCZ Statement on Earth Day" which the session adopted.

The RUDE PRAVO correspondents state that the plenum's objective was "to consider the political and economic development and discuss the party's immediate tasks in preparing for the elections to legislative bodies." Speakers in the debate included CPCZ Chairman Ladislav Adamec, whose speech is summarized in the report.

Adamec first expresses the hope that the elections in June will help to calm the "tense political atmosphere" and make it possible to concentrate on the solution of "growing socioeconomic problems." He goes on to discuss the election campaign. In this context, he says: "It is important that we do not let ourselves be provoked by anything into abandoning the new party line. Any actions that are intended to turn the party away from this new line and toward the old dogmatic positions undermine the credibility of its policy, add grist to the mill of our adversaries, and could do severe harm to the party, especially before the elections. It is therefore necessary to energetically resist such actions and to clearly dissociate ourselves from them.

"Anticommunist propaganda will do everything it can to present the party as yesterday's force, as a force of totalitarianism, to be able to blame it for all problems. To frighten the people, it will make up the story that when the communists win they will restore the old order. This is why it is so important to demonstrate by facts that we are entering the elections as a party which is different from the party which existed prior to 17 November [1989], as a party with a modern program, as a resolute supporter of democratic freedoms, demanding economic reforms and the opening up to Europe and the world." Adamec expresses the CPCZ's wish that the election campaign not serve as an occasion to settle old scores but that it become a "serious dialogue on the program of society's further development."

Speaking in the debate, Adamec also commented on the recently published letter sent to him by Miroslav Stepan, former Prague party leader who is now in custody. Asked why RUDE PRAVO published the letter only after LIDOVE NOVINY wrote about its existence, Adamec reportedly replied that when he asked the General Prosecutor's Office whether he could publish the letter, he was told that "this is inappropriate as long as the investigations are in progress." Only on Friday, 20 April, after the publication of the LIDOVE NOVINY item, did the investigating prosecutor tell him that he, the prosecutor, "has no right to prevent the publication of the letter."

Kvetoslava Celisova, one of the speakers in the debate, discussed the shortage of copies of RUDE PRAVO. She is quoted as having said that one of the reasons (besides the shortage of newsprint) is that some newsstands "keep copies of RUDE PRAVO under the counter." Celisova therefore recommends that the distribution of RUDE PRAVO be "ensured" by party members themselves.

The RUDE PRAVO report on the plenum also mentions that the Central Committee was told that the party will set up a "Central Political School" in Jevany near Prague and that a "theoretical workplace" of the party has been established in Prague. Another "theoretical workplace" is said to be "taking shape" in Bratislava.

Vasil Mohorita's speech is devoted, among other things, to what he describes as an "escalation of tension" in society. He attributes this tension to the "wholly overt activity of forces which make no secret of their calls for revenge for the past" and to the replacement of the initial "wave of enthusiasm and joy" by a "period of sobering and disillusionment." As Mohorita points out, many forecasts have turned out to be unrealistic and people now realize that the necessary changes may take decades rather than years, that the negative impact of reforms may affect hundreds of thousands rather than thousands, and that foreign assistance will fall significantly short of the expected sums. The "artificially exacerbated nationality problems" are another factor of the social tension, according to Mohorita.

In the view of the first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, many people are also disillusioned with the political situation because "participation by the people in decisionmaking has not really increased" and people "have the feeling once again that they cannot influence the situation in any way."

Mohorita expresses the fear that the social climate "contains the seeds of an explosion with unfathomable consequences. One cannot even rule out the possibility of provocations, even provocations of a scale such as the Reichstag fire of almost 60 years ago, which became a pretext to liquidate not only German communists, but also social democrats and all left-wing and democratic forces. On no account do I want to sound alarmist. I only want to stress the responsibility of our party and its every member for the present and future of this country." In this context, Mohorita discusses the "increasingly intensive attempts" to put the CPCZ under pressure and the "ever new attacks" on communists, such as the prague city prosecutor's threat of several days ago to outlaw the

party. Mohorita stresses that historical experience shows that attempts to "liquidate by force" a political movement have always ended in a fiasco, though it may have taken decades or centuries. He says: "Of course, it is possible to ban our party. But it is impossible to prevent people from thinking what they want to think, from believing what they want to believe, and from striving for what they want to achieve."

New Deputy Chairmen of CPCZ Control Commission

AU2604211090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 90 p 2

["za"-signed report: "Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Control and Auditing Commission"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Control and Auditing Commission held its third session on Saturday [21 April]. [passage omitted]

It co-opted Marie Sobova, chairwoman of the Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, as member of the commission and elected her to the post of deputy chairwoman of the CPCZ Control and Auditing Commission. Jan Demikat, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Slovakia was also elected deputy chairman of the CPCZ Control and Auditing Commission.

Adamec Letter to Expelled Party Members

AU2604132090

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 April on pages 1 and 5 carries the full text of a 1,700-word open letter from Ladislav Adamec, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) chairman, to "unjustly" suspended and expelled party members.

According to Adamec, "we consider our attitude toward the party members who were unjustly suspended and expelled as one of the most painful chapters of the past. The coarse organizational elimination of the reform wing which was striving for socialism with a human face had irreparable consequences for the party and for society. This led society into a deep crisis and is the reason why there was no success in asserting the course of restructuring in our country after 1985."

Adamec states that publicly admitting to mistakes and apologizing for them is not enough. This is all the more so in view of the fact that the apologies are being made belatedly. He continues, "I think the party has already provided sufficient proof that this is not just a tactical maneuver. The party's new Action and Preelection Program were consciously inspired by the 1968 Action Program." The CPCZ chairman claims that as a starting point for its policy, the party "has adopted the principles of political pluralism, parliamentary democracy, economic reforms, and opening up to Europe and to the world."

Former discredited representatives have been expelled from the party and new people have taken up their posts—from the Central Committee to the primary organization level. Party members now have a guarantee that their voice will be heard.

Adamec stresses that "we reject and condemn any attempts to defend and propagate the old dogmatic points of view. They are grist to the mill for the various and deliberately disseminated fabrications about preparations for a communist putsch; they only serve our enemies. Various conservative labels, slander, and the campaigns that pass the party off as yesterday's force do not correspond to the truth and merely serve political extremism and preelection purposes."

He writes that the party "identifies with the demand for fundamental structural changes, the equality of various forms of ownership, and the modernization of the economy on the basis of implementing scientific and technical development."

The letter concludes with Adamec stating his opinion that "a strong left-wing is not only in the party's interest, but is necessary for democratic development, for a healthy political balance, and for protecting the interests of millions of working people."

New Deputy Interior Minister Appointed

LD2604144490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Jan Ruml, until now editor in chief of the RESPEKT magazine, has been appointed deputy federal minister of interior. This was announced in Prague today [26 April] at a news conference on the federal government session.

Lis Specifies Charges Against Sacher

AU2604114190 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Apr 90 pp 3,4

[Statement by Ladislav Lis, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations, presented at the 27th joint session of Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 19 April: "Interpellation by Deputy L. Lis"]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, Mr. Acting Chairman, esteemed deputies, ladies, and gentlemen, I turn to Federal Minister Sacher, LLD., who is present here, with this interpellation. Mr. Sacher, LLD., Czechoslovak federal minister of interior, granted the daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE an extensive interview, which was published in yesterday's issue. The interview is entitled dramatically: "Who Stirs Up Mud And Who Wants To Bring About a Political Crisis." In this interview the

minister attempts to compare the current situation at the Ministry of Interior to the situation at the same ministry in February 1948. Therefore, he believes that the democratic developments in our country are threatened and that we could squander much of what we gained by the velvet revolution. Further in the interview, he speaks of his responsibility to the Parliament.

In this respect, many others share my view, with the difference being, however, in the belief that our democracy is threatened—it seems—above all by members of the former nomenklatura who still hold key positions in the immediate proximity to the minister and who enjoy his trust. Apparently, according to the minister, any criticism of his person or work constitutes the greatest danger for democracy. The minister evidently accepts the opinion of the workers heretofore employed by the Federal Ministry of Interior; namely that the main danger for democratic progress and for state security are those people whose appointment he originally approved and who work at the ministry or in civic commissions but who have, as a result of his attitudes, become critical of him. We believe that these people, whether they work at the ministry itself or in the civic screening commissions, neither impair the operation of the Federal Interior Ministry nor threaten the political stability of our nation.

The situation at the Federal Ministry of Interior is unsatisfactory because, as the minister himself put it, the security screening of the managing heads and members of the National Security Corps progresses truly at a snail's pace. The minister's measures have been applied at the same snail's pace. In nearly four months the minister did nothing or almost nothing to purge the National Security Corps except under pressure by workers of civic and vetting commissions, Civic Forum assemblies, public opinion, and by the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations. As an example I can mention the minister's attitude toward the former first deputy minister, General Lorenc. First, he appointed General Lorenc to be his adviser, then he offered him a well-paying position abroad. After this attempt caused a public scandal, he tried to find for General Lorenc a post at the Ministry of National Defense, which he tried to justify before the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations by the general rank of the above named. After critical comments were published in the newspapers, he asked General Lorenc to voluntarily retire with all financial benefits; i.e., about 100,000 korunas. This concerns a person who is responsible for the repressive activity of the National Security Corps in past years. Gen. Lorenc was arrested only because of the increased pressure by the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations, which supplied the Prosecutor General's Office with materials necessary for his arrest, i.e., documents on his issuing the order to destroy materials discrediting the State Security.

The Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations dealt with the situation at the Federal Ministry of Interior several times and they even adopted appropriate resolutions. For instance, on 15 March this year, under file No. 7, a resolution of the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations was adopted in which, under the provision 4 (e), it is requested that the question of salary for State Security members who are suspended from service according to law No. 100/70, Article 21, Section 3, is finalized before the next session of the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations. Because this problem has not been dealt with, the state must pay these security members approximately 40 million korunas per month.

If Minister Sacher claims that he submitted an amendment to the Law 100/70 on the employment contract of National Security Corps members already in February of this year, then he is wrong, because the final version of Law No. 100 was submitted by his deputy Dr. Samel to the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations only on 4 April this year. What the minister calls a draft law consisted only of some theses which were submitted not in February but at the beginning of March of this year.

The outcome of an initiative by the Defense and Security Committees aimed at speeding the adoption of the amendment to this law is a resolution passed by both committees to the effect that they will take over the initiative and will, upon completion of a feasibility study, introduce the bill on their own. It is obvious that even with regard to this problem the Federal Interior Ministry did not really demonstrate any initiative.

But there was not any need to wait for the amendment to the law because the law No. 100/70 condones in Article 21 the suspension of those members who are under well founded suspicion of a serious infringement of their duties. Therefore, particularly the managers at all levels, which number at least between 1,000 and 1,500 people, who served in the central detachments of the regional administrations of the National Security Corps or in the district detachments of the National Security Corps, could have been suspended from duty for taking part in the management of the state security and, among other things, participating in the destruction of the files of the internal intelligence service of the Interior Ministry after 17 November. Such a consideration enabled the Constitution and Democracy Protection Office to suspend 23 heads of the internal intelligence. This step results in an immediate cut in the salaries of these policemen to 70 or 50 percent depending on their marital status. The same measures could have been applied in relation to these 1,000 to 1,500 workers.

On 4 April 1990, in resolution No. 116, the deputies of the Defense and Security Committees sharply condemned the destruction of the State Security archive materials, which could have contributed to the objectivity of the screening, and they demanded that disciplinary proceedings be initiated against those who without authorization destroyed the archive materials or who made the theft of these materials possible.

Further resolutions by these deputies suggest to Interior Minister Dr. Sacher a speedy completion of the screening above all at the Interior Ministry which, in turn, will make possible the screening to follow at the level of the regional and district administrations of the National Security Corps. In addition, the suspension of the National Security Corps members who did not pass the screening test should take place quickly, a joint consultative meeting should be called of the heads of regional administrations, of the chairmen of civic commissions, and of the deputies of the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations to discuss the problems of the screening. Deputies to the Federal Interior Minister, members of the civic commissions, and deputies to the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations should make inspection trips to the regions and districts and draft a plan of these inspections.

None of these suggested measures has been fully implemented to date.

On request by members of the civic commission at the Federal Interior Ministry, an extraordinary session of the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations was called for 5 April 1990 to deal with the momentous findings of their commission. This extraordinary session took place on the nearest possible date, i.e., on 9 April 1990. At this meeting, the deputies were informed about the unsatisfactory situation in the department of the Federal Interior Ministry. On the basis of the data and findings of the civic vetting commissions at the Federal Interior Ministry, on basis of information collected from the activities of the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations, and on the basis of the findings of the Federal Assembly Commission for Supervising the Investigation of the Events of 17 November 1989, the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations arrived, after a debate, at the conclusion that the delays in the reorganization of the Security Corps and in the dissolution of the State Security Service are caused by the inadequate management of the ministry, particularly by the failure to implement adequate measures regarding the overall personnel management, organization, and specific individuals in the center of the ministry.

Those few members of the National Security Corps who were taken into custody as a result of the events of 17 November 1989 were arrested exclusively on the basis of the findings of the Federal Assembly Commission for Supervising Investigation of the Events of 17 November 1989 and of the Independent Investigating Commission, and on the basis of the results of the investigation by the Military Prosecutor's Office.

The Defense and Security Committees further established that the organizational measures consisting of the abolition of the State Security administration for investigations and, eventually, of the termination of internal political intelligence and of the so-called dissolution of other components of the State Security took place again only under pressure from the public and from the Federal Assembly deputies, and that the State Security materials were sealed only in mid-February 1990.

We see the grounds for this disconcerting situation in the leadership of the Federal Interior Ministry in that, to a great extent, members of the old structures continue to work there who for years meticulously, conscientiously, and overzealously followed the orders of a single political party, were its instrument, and made their mark on the consciousness of our people as the normalization period inquisitors.

I can illustrate my claim with a number of examples. One instance is Major Vaclav Novotny who, until 15 April of this year, served in the important function of director of the Internal Organization Administration of the Federal Interior Ministry. Major Novotny had been employed in the department since 1972 and he served in various offices in the State Security, and was very active in them. From 1978 to 1979 he served with the rank of first lieutenant of the National Security Corps at the Municipal District Administration in Prague 4, and he worked—as the National Security Corps jargon refers to this—on the signatories of Charter 77—Mrs. Marta Kubisova, Mrs. Otka Bednarova, and many other signatories of Charter 77. On the basis of these merits, he was later transferred to the Federal Interior Ministry and Minister Dr. Sacher then appointed him to the post of director of the Internal Organization Administration of the Federal Interior Ministry. He was also promoted to major. Major Novotny enjoys exceptional trust by Minister Sacher and in the materials intended for the Federal Government of National Understanding he was assessed very highly. The minister writes verbatim: "In this situation, Mr. Novotny, LLD., provided the interior minister with invaluable assistance in the formation of basic guidelines for the operation of the department under the Government of National Understanding, in the elaboration of methods of dealing with its fundamental tasks, and in the recognition of the practical activities and complex linkages outside as well as within the department." This is as much as I wish to quote from the minister's material for the Federal Government at the beginning of this April.

It is only necessary to add that Major Novotny has avoided screening at the Federal Interior Ministry three times and eventually requested to be relieved from the director's office and to have his contract of employment

terminated by 15 April of this year. He still works at the Federal Interior Ministry, however, and did not vacate his function.

In this context, it is necessary to note that he evidently did not tell the truth while defending General Lorenc when he denied at the session of the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations that General Lorenc issued the order to destroy the files. He has not been held accountable even for this demonstrable untruth.

There are very many similar meritorious and effective experts in the Federal Interior Ministry and in its structures. I would say that they represent a definite majority. Among them is, for instance, a worker in the 10th section of the 2nd administration in the State Security of many years, Michal Kralka, who, as recently as the beginning of last December, was temporarily transferred to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee where he joined the Staff which was working on measures to suppress the democratic revolution. When Interior Minister Dr. Sacher assumed his office, M. Kralka was appointed head of the Information Department in the Analysis Section; hence he became responsible for the content of security information intended for the president of the republic, for the government, and for the deputies of the Federal Assembly.

Major Munzar, LLD., deputy head of the Internal Organizational Administration, has been entrusted by the interior minister with responsibility for contact with the Federal Assembly Commission for Supervising Investigation of the Events of 17 November 1989. He testified before the Screening Commission of the Federal Interior Ministry that he had never been interested in demonstrations, that he had never had any knowledge of them except from the daily press. In his case, we are talking of a former member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Plenum at the Federal Interior Ministry, who is still acting in his functions, despite the fact that three weeks ago the civic commission of the Federal Interior Ministry did not approve him for further service in the National Security Corps.

Another example is the case of Major Miroslav Mosna, LLD., former head of the State Security Department for Investigations, who made his name by searches in the homes of signatories of Charter 77 and who is responsible for the investigation and trial of, for instance, Mr. Jiri Gruntorad, Mr. Jiri Volf, and Lubos Dobrovsky, two of whom were sentenced—exactly by his efforts—to several years of imprisonment.

This February Interior Minister Sacher appointed this man head of the Office for Investigation of Anti-Constitutional Activities. In other words, he remained in his old office as the head in the structure of the State Security in spite of the fact that the Screening Commission did not recommend him and the Central Civic Commission did not approve him for further service in the National Security Corps.

Precisely these experts are in our eyes and in the eyes of the chairmen of the civic screening commissions the main and the fundamental decelerating factor in the snail's pace of the screening process.

The same conclusions were reached by the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly. Hence, this snail's pace is not caused by Deputy Minister Prochazka or by other workers who were transferred to the Interior Ministry during the later half of January of this year as new assistants to the minister, but the responsibility lies unequivocally with these old staff who endeavor to decelerate the speed of, and perhaps even prevent, the screening or any intervention in the state structure of the State Security. In the final analysis, the slow pace of the screening leads to the destabilization of the security situation in the state with all its political implications.

The situation at the Federal Interior Ministry is further complicated by conceptual disagreements between the interior minister and his deputies regarding the internal intelligence. It is basically a clash of two different concepts, one of which focuses on preserving the old and proven personnel and the nomenklatura structures, while the other is based on a thorough purge and on building a new security apparatus. This, in its consequences, means that the sentiments and opinions of the entire state's population should again be ascertained. The original proposal, drafted by the deputy minister of Czech and Slovak Federative Republic who was entrusted with this task, did not consider establishing such an organizational structure which would conform to previous models. This new concept was, however, rejected by disputation in favor of forming an organization of several thousand persons reaching down to the level of districts, the basis of which would consist of the present reserves of the State Security. This organization should function as so-called internal intelligence. One can assume that this organization could not do without information from the old agency network.

On occasion, Minister Sacher expresses himself in a very general manner. He presents some information, but leaves it incomplete—like, for instance, at the make-shift news conference here in the Parliament building yesterday. In other words he tells half-truths. This concerns, for instance the vetting—i.e., an inquiry into personal data—supposedly ordered by Dr. Formanek, director of the Office for Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, to whom the minister delegates all responsibility for this operation in general. What is it all about? It is about the vetting, that is, ascertaining personal data of Federal Assembly deputies, which was ordered by a personal command of Minister Sacher—i.e. vetting of all of us, present or absent here.

I would like to add an observation that this vetting was conducted by State Security members, under the command of Major Novotny, who themselves have not passed the screening test. The minister justified the

vetting of legislative bodies by the concern that the records not be misused by the Constitution and Democracy Protection Office in the political sphere.

Actually, all these materials were in Major Novotny's hands from 16 March to 2 April of this year. Only on 2 April did the interior minister issue a written order to secure these documents in special vaults. One thing is obvious: The materials and information on Federal Assembly deputies and members of the governments and of national councils were during this time outside the domain of control of the federal minister of interior of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. I should add that on 9 April, based on information provided by members of the Civic Commission, the Defense and Security Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations asked, in the absence of the prosecutor general of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, the prosecutor general of the Czech Republic that he and, in cooperation with him, the prosecutor general of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and the chief military prosecutor arrange an inquiry into the matter and introduce appropriate measures according to the outcome of the inquiry.

I would like to share some information from the prosecutor general's report.

It states—concerning the vetting of Federal Assembly and national councils deputies, of some other political activists, and, in particular, of members of the federal and national governments—that in mid-March 1990 it was established that such an action took place. Instructions for the vetting were issued by Major Dr. Novotny, director of the Internal Organization Administration of the Federal Ministry of Interior. In his testimony he said that he did so with the approval of Minister Dr. Sacher. The report consists of six pages and is available to the deputies for perusal. Further, it reads: "In mid-March, Major Novotny passed onto Major Rambousek a Federal Assembly manual in a red cover entitled 'Information for Federal Assembly Deputies No. 39/1990' and ordered a screening of all deputies of the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, of the National Councils, as well as of some other politicians."

Major Rambousek had all the data required for vetting (name, surname, date of birth) copied from the manual and, through Major Donat, he removed from the register all deputy registration cards. The registration cards which were removed are now in Major Donat's vault. Major Donat is one of the unscreened senior workers of the Interior Ministry.

The report reads further: "Actual files on deputies of the Federal Assembly and on government members which were removed from the register are, on Major Novotny's order, in a separate section of the archives of the Federal Ministry of Interior. Keys to this section are kept in Major Rambousek's vault and only Major Rambousek has access to them." Major Rambousek is also one of the unscreened staff members of the Federal Ministry of Interior, i.e., he did not pass the screening commission. That is all I take from the report of the prosecutor general of the Czech Republic.

I would like to make this observation: We really are in a peculiar situation when the minister screens us at his own discretion and with the aid of unscreened State Security workers without an approval of the Federal Assembly or of the Federal Government. I stress that we are being vetted by old, proven experts of the State Security.

I strongly protest against this action conducted on the order of Dr. Sacher, minister of the interior, and I emphatically implore the minister to give a factual explanation, a precise answer, and grounds for this peculiar attitude. It should be provided at this session because the entire affair became a matter of public interest. That is all I wish to say on the topic of the report. Allow me, in conclusion, one more observation. In his interview [for LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE of 18 April] the minister raised the question of who rakes up mud and who wants to bring about a political crisis. By criticizing, together with the public, the previous activities and management of the Ministry of Interior and by seeking a consistent solution to the present crisis in the management of the Interior Ministry, the Defense and Security Committees neither rake up mud nor do they cause a political crisis.

What can, however, be said about the attitude of Minister Sacher, and how can one assess this attitude when, as I am told, he appears before the Parliament building and, hardly by accident, tells the gathered citizens that he is to be recalled from the ministerial office at this session of the Federal Assembly and that, according to him, on communist initiative? It is not my task to defend the activities of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, but I believe that in the political struggle one must follow the principles of truth and ethics. It is very dangerous in political struggle to arouse emotions by demagogy.

How should one assess, for instance, the fact that some heads of regional and district administrations of the National Security Corps organize petitions and send resolutions in support of Minister Sacher to the Federal Assembly? In this respect he who cannot cope with his office or who discredited himself [sentence as published]. One should always be concerned with the issue at hand, its substance, and not with personal ambitions. Thank you.

Government Discusses Economic Strategy 26 Apr

LD2604223690 Prague CTK in English 1823 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed at its session here today the economic results of 1989, changes in the plan for 1990 and a bill on the creation of a national economy strategy.

After the session, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Vladimir Dlouhy explained the issues in question at a press conference.

"The analysis of the results of 1989 and the first three months of 1990 was conceived as a starting point for making changes in the plan for 1990, and at the same time proposed certain principles for a stabilization program which the State Planning Commission will submit to the government," Vladimir Dlouhy said. He stressed that the bill on the creation of a national economy strategy was a substantial step forward on the path of the economic reform.

He stated that the changes in the 1990 plan concerned five main spheres. i.e. stabilization of the situation on the home market, re- orientation of imports of fuels and raw materials due to the CMEA cuts in supplies, ensuring of fuels and raw materials from domestic sources, settlement of problems connected with supplier-consumer relations, and settlement of issues concerning capital construction including incorporation in integration projects. Vladimir Dlouhy continued saying that documents on the economic reform will be discussed by the Federal Government next week.

The Czechoslovak Government today also voiced consent to concluding an agreement on trade, and trade and economic cooperation with the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). According to the prepared agreement, due to be signed in May, mutual trade should be fully liberalized. The agreement will also provide for substantial expansion of cooperation in research, science, technology and education.

The Federal Government named Jan Ruml Czechoslovak deputy interior minister. Present editor-in-chief of the independent magazine RESPEKT (RESPECT) Jan Ruml is the son of Jiri Ruml, editor- in-chief of the independent daily LIDOVE NOVINY. He is a signatory of the Charter 77.

Journalists were told that the government had recieved a proposal for settling property rights issues between the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox churches to be discussed next week.

TU's Criticize New Law on State Enterprises

LD2604224290 Prague CTK in English 1603 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—The General Council of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions today [26 April] criticized the new law on state enterprises approved by parliament on April 19 for curbing the employees' participation in decisionmaking on the enterprises' economic activity which is not in harmony with shaping a democratic state.

In its statement made public through CTK, the Confederation said that it disagreed already with the draft bill and rejected the abandoning of the principle of a self-governing enterprise. The law substantially strengthens the rights of the founder, i.e. a state body. This contributes to unhealthy centralization of power which is at variance with the logic of the economic reform, the statement said adding that moreover, the state apparatus has not by far cleared the state apparatus of the bureaucratic methods of management, the trade union confederation said.

The new law replaces that of 1988 which was tailored to suit the then concept of the so-called restructuring of the national economy but in the conditions of a multi-sector market economy towards which Czechoslovakia is heading it is no longer applicable.

The Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions proposed in its statement to draft a new bill on employees' participation in the management of enterprises and companies.

It would embrace all forms of ownership, and introduce—on the basis of the use of foreign experience—necessary mechanisms and institutions ensuring the workers' share in decision-making on the enterprises' economic activity. Models that have proved ineffective in European countries are excluded from all considerations.

The bill will be quickly drafted by trade unions in cooperation with experts. Meanwhile, the Confederation recommends that the Federal Assembly (parliament) take measures to prevent transformation of state enteprises into joint-stock companies if work teams voice disagreement of principle.

The Confederation proposed this measure because in its view, the new law gives governments exceptional powers in transformation of state enterprises into joint stock companies already before the end of this year regardless of the employees' views.

Civic Forum Waning Popularity, Problems Viewed

AU2604122590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Apr 90 p 5

[Jan Chudomel, Jan Kavan, and Libor Konvicka article reprinted from the weekly FORUM No. 12: "Civic Forum at the Crossroads?"]

[Text] The most recent opinion polls testify—in an identical way—that the popularity of the Civic Forum is continually waning. A few months ago, the Civic Forum had the active support of the majority of the population. This sharp and cautionary decline in support has not come suddenly, of course, but is a direct consequence of the crisis which the Civic Forum (or the Public Against Violence movement) has to face today. Its roots are in the political character of the movement or, to be exact, in its political "history."

The Civic Forum was established by a group of (then) dissidents and some individuals close to them, that is, from the top. At the bottom of society this initiative met with a great reaction and this is how the nationwide political movement began—with everything that such a movement implies. A fixed organizational structure, membership, and binding mechanisms of representation and responsibility have intentionally not been introduced. The existence of a nationwide Civic Forum network made it possible for the initiators to bring the ambushed Communist representatives to negotiations and made it possible for Civic Forum to act as the authoritative political will of the public. Being aware of this, a group of leading Civic Forum personalities entered another round of talks and with each new success they appealed less and less for the citizens' approval—that is, the confirmation of the mandate which they acquired during the first revolutionary days. Gradually, the "main direction" split. The Coordinating Center focused on high politics and on the transfer of power within the highest legislative and executive organs. In contrast to this, the Civic Forum as a movement—as a network of local forums—got mired in local problems. Contact between the spontaneous movement and its leaders in coordinating centers was constantly fading. In addition to this, Civic Forum's role on the political scene began to change. At the beginning, Civic Forum's Coordinating Centers represented a nationwide anticommunist opposition. In the roundtable negotiations, however, the non-Communist parties of the National Front also participated formally as equal partners. This meant that the coordinating center drifted even further from its original unifying role and has become a particular political force.

These tendencies became apparent during the talks about the new electoral law. The principles of this exceptionally important legal norm had been agreed upon behind closed doors between coordination center representatives and other National Front parties. This was done intentionally, irrespective of public opinion. The coordinating centers have thus gradually become an autonomous group of uncontrollable political negotiators who make decisions in the name of the public, perhaps also in the public's interests, but not as public representatives.

Today we have two Civic Forums—on the one hand, a free association of politically committed citizens who attempt to take the affairs of their localities into their own hands and; on the other hand, a narrow political elite controlling the gears of power who are convinced that in the citizens' best interests, the problems should be solved from the top.

While the first Civic Forum is inclined to retain the initial amorphous, or very little differentiated, structures—that is an organizational structure which resembles that of a political movement—the center, which is becoming more and more elitist, is assuming the nature of a political party. There is no liaison between the two levels of dispute (and there apparently can be no such liaison—the attempt to form Civic Forum as an assembly has failed)—and therefore this dispute cannot be solved.

This process was dictated by political circumstances themselves—and there apparently were no alternatives to it—but it has led Civic Forum into a deadlock and represents the substance of its crisis. First, Civic Forum's fundamental raison d'etre—to create "democratic and independent institutions and mechanisms which would permit the participation of all citizens in the administration" (Civic Forum's Statutes)—has been negated; second, conditions for Civic Forum's oligarchic degeneration have been created; and third, the aforementioned citizens' authority has disappeared.

An atmosphere seriously endangering not only Civic Forum's election results but also its very existence has been created. The risk is even greater since Civic Forum's leadership has been unable to react openly and matter-of-factly to this new situation. This situation requires, however, a thorough and open self-analysis. Only by such an analysis can we see the possibility of the renewal of the Civic Forum's trustworthiness and dynamic potential. The previous text is our attempt to analyze the current situation and factors which have led to this situation. We would like to conclude by saying that—as follows from this analysis—the Civic Forum's structure today cannot be upheld and, without radical internal reform, it will dissipate (with all the imaginable nasty and agonizing consequences). It is only a question of time until this happens.

This would be the saddest alternative, however, because Civic Forum remains the best—and the most needed—of what we have on the political landscape. We welcome any suggestions which could contribute to forming Civic Forum's current and future shape. At the same time, we will attempt to outline our concept of necessary changes.

Bank Official on Exchange Rate

AU2604122990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Apr 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Pavel Vaskovic, head of the Foreign Exchange Department at the Czechoslovak State Bank in Prague, by Elena Klimesova; place and date not given: "What Lies Behind the Favorable Exchange Rate?"]

[Text] Yesterday the tourist exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna was altered by 10 percent in line with freely convertible currencies. We asked Engineer Pavel Vaskovic, head of the Foreign Exchange Department at the Czechoslovak State Bank in Prague, to explain this measure to us.

[Vaskovic] I would like to emphasize that this is a deliberate measure with which the Federal Government has decided to support certain favorable tendencies concerning exchange rate developments in our country and abroad.

[Klimesova] However, what was the immediate reason for such a singular alteration to the exchange rate?

[Vaskovic] There are several reasons. During the first three months of the year, our citizens did not show too great an interest in buying hard currency at the original exchange rate. On the other hand, income from foreign visitors to our country increased significantly, although it is impossible to place this fact in direct juxtaposition with exchange rate development. A third important factor is provided by the measures under preparation to improve the supply situation for the domestic market and to reduce the prices of electronic goods. The exchange rate amount is given by the level of prices in electronics. Apart from this, during the past month, the exchange rate of our koruna abroad has partially altered.

[Klimesova] Obviously a more advantageous exchange rate will persuade some of our citizens to purchase hard currency. Will too great an interest not bring about the return of the exchange rate for the Czechoslovak koruna to its previous level?

[Vaskovic] If we bear in mind the conditions given by the market, it is impossible to forecast something in this regard. The aforementioned favorable tendencies should be confirmed by other measures which are under preparation. For example, at the Czechoslovak State Bank we are interested in improving conditions for the expansion of exchange activities and for making them more lucrative.

Slovak Government To Take Over Printing Works

LD2604214890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Summary] Slovak Government representatives met with editors of the future government daily NARODNA OBRODA today. Jan Ducky, Slovak minister of industry, told the meeting that an agreement has been reached with the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Executive Committee for the PRAVDA Printing Works [Tlaciarenske Zavody PRAVDA] to be transferred to the Slovak Ministry of Industry as a state enterprise. The agreement is expected to be signed "in the next few days" between the Ministries of Finance and Industry and the Executive Committee. On 10 May, the PRAVDA Printing Works are expected to apply to become a state enterprise, which should be set up by 1 July. It will be subordinate to the Ministry of Industry, including newsprint and printing capacities. "We have taken upon ourselves the duty to distribute paper according to the decisions of the roundtable and to decide on allocation and printing capacities also on behalf of the PRAVDA Printing Combine." The PRAVDA Printing Works are in a poor state with depreciation at 61 percent.

USSR Friendship Society Changes Name, Head

AU2604131190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 90 p 2

["jk"-signed report: "New Name of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society: Society of Friends of the Peoples of the Soviet Union"]

[Excerpt] Brno (from our correspondent)—The Society of Friends of the Peoples of the Soviet Union [Spolecnost pratel s narody Sovetskeho svazu] is the new name of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. The new name was approved by participants in the Extraordinary Congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society in Brno on Saturday [21 April].

The participants in the congress confirmed the endeavor to completely revamp the activity of this important social organization. A change of principle involves the perception of the idea of friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. It is based on equality, mutual respect, and the building of a common European home. The society's permanent task for the future will be to truthfully and frankly elucidate the life of the Soviet people in its entire complexity and to organize various and attractive activities for the large membership base. The congress debate confirmed that the organization wants to operate as an active and autonomous movement in our country's multiparty democracy.

Cosmonaut Vladimir Remek became chairman of the Federal Coordinating Council of the Society of Friends of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted on messages of greetings addressed to the congress]

De Maiziere, Ministers Defend Unification Policy

LD2604200490 East Berlin ADN in English 1900 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On its road to economic, currency and social union with the FRG the new GDR Government has achieved something to look back on, Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere said here on Thursday [26 April] in the second round of a parliamentary debate on his policy speech.

Citing cases in point, he named the mark-Deutschmark swap rate of one-to-one for wages fixed with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn, saying it had been reached for "a country which has seen a rate of one-to-4.65, let alone black market rates."

On accusations of GDR people being made second rate citizens compared with FRG people, De Maiziere said they had been third and fourth rate before, which drew protests from the opposition benches.

Before De Maiziere, eleven cabinet ministers replied to questions pertaining to his policy speech. Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (Social Democrat) and Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann (Democratic Awakening) failed to be specific on a future GDR NATO membership. Security interests in East and West must be guaranteed, Eppelmann said. He announced that this year's defence budget would be cut by 25 per cent on last year's, with 49 per cent [passage indistinct] 400 deputies chosen in the GDR's first free and democratic elections approved a motion of the defence minister to amend the oath of allegiance of the 1982 military service act.

The GDR will not receive a new constitution pending German unification. A motion the opposition Alliance 90/Greens parliamentary group tabled for a GDR preliminary basic law was turned down by a narrow margin.

At an ensuing hearing all groups condemned the use of chemical warfare agents and weapons. The Alliance 90/Greens group urged clarification on GDR supplies to Iraq of basic material needed for the manufacture of chemical arms. Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl (Christian Democrat) and state secretary for disarmament, Bertram Wieczorek (Christian Democrat), proved no such material had been shipped to Iraq by the Foreign Trade Ministry and the Ministry for the Chemical Industry.

Like last week, some 1,000 farmers gathered outside parliament to protest against uncontrolled FRG food imports. Next week at the latest, the GDR Government would take measures to protect the country's farming sector, Agriculture Minister Peter Pollack said.

De Maiziere Discusses German Unity

LD2704132690 East Berlin ADN in English 1219 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—German unification must be considered as a common German project, with socially compatible and promising solutions to be found in all issues, GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere told independent BERLINER ZEITUNG newspaper in an interview carried on Friday [27 April].

The premier supported what he called "transitional and harmonizing regulations" for the GDR's accession to the FRG. In any case legal norms would have to be fixed for designing economic, monetary and social union.

He came out for shielding the GDR economy from market pressure through protective mechanisms in order not to allow its total collapse. Some enterprises, would cease to function.

Subsidies would not be completely scrapped, said De Maiziere.

"We plan to further subsidize rents electricity rates and fares. Prices can only be raised to a degree commensurate with efficiency and productivity so that incomes and pensions can rise in dynamic adaptation," he said.

Guenter Krause, state secretary in the Premier's Office, told Socialist newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND the GDR-FRG union treaty should ensure that real incomes in the GDR did not slump.

He said the GDR delegation would exhaust all its possibilities in official talks on the union starting on Friday.

"And when a treaty will be completed which in the eyes of the GDR Government is the most favourable compromise, I feel you will see that we as the GDR will have won very much."

Krause, a Christian Democrat like De Maiziere, said there was no point in speculating about higher house rents and prices.

He said he felt that "in the issue too much fears are being caused in GDR and FRG citizens."

People should be confident and leave it to the government representatives to deal with the problem.

The issue must be considered from the angles both of the GDR and the FRG and a paper worked out "which as a treaty helps the development of Germany," Krause said.

De Maiziere on Upcoming Gorbachev Meeting

LD2704123190 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1100 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Prime Minister de Maiziere does not expect objections to German unification during his forthcoming meeting with USSR State President Gorbachev.

In a pre-released interview with Saturday's BILD newspaper he said there is probably agreement that the way to achieve it will be through Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law. Concerning the complexity of NATO membership and security questions, he will make it clear in Moscow that further negotiations are necessary. In this connection the premier announced that he is going to bring up the presence of Soviet troops in the GDR. Trade will also be an important issue of the talks.

Expects To Deepen Soviet Relations

LD2704132190 Hamburg DPA in German
1252 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR intends to deepen and expand its relations with the USSR. This was stressed by the East Berlin government side on Friday [27 April], one day before the Moscow trip by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (Christian Democratic Union). Government Spokesman Matthias Gehler said to journalists that De Maiziere intends to underline the importance of the perestroika and glasnost polices, which made the changes in the GDR possible, during a talk on Sunday with head of state Mikhail Gorbachev.

The process of European unification, incorporating all European states, also is due to be a major topic for discussion. According to Gehler, the process of German unification thereby will play an important role.

Prime Minister De Maiziere said in an interview wih the BILD newspaper that he was not counting on resistance or protests against German unification in Moscow. The USSR has shown a "great sense of reality" on this question in the past.

On the quesiton of GDR membership in NATO, the government head said that the GDR also is not in agreement with the Federal Republic in this matter, "but this is not a stumbling block. Further negotiations on NATO and the security question are still on the agenda." De Maiziere gave the assurance that the GDR would fulfill all obligations to the Soviet union. [passage omitted]

FRG's Seiters To Talk With De Maiziere, Others

LD2604145690 Hamburg DPA in German
1353 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Rudolf Seiters, head of the Chancellor's Office, began talks this afternoon with the East Berlin government. First he met with Klaus Reichenbach (Christian Democratic Union) [CDU], minister at the Prime Minister's Office. After this, talks with the East Berlin government head Lothar de Maiziere (CDU), Parliamentary State Secretary at the Council of Ministers Guenther Krause, and Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (DSU) [German Social Union] are scheduled.

The main issue of the talks will probably be the imminent currency union and the state treaty. Seiters wants to guarantee close and unbureaucratic cooperation during the talks. Both sides' expert commissions will meet on Friday for the second round of talks on currency union and the state treaty.

'Room for Negotiations' on Union

LD2604180190 Hamburg DPA in German
1453 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR Government sees room for negotiations on improvements in the talks with Bonn on the state treaty and monetary union. "We have a few clever ideas. It should not cost the Federal Republic any more, but it should be more justly distributed," the minister at the Prime Minister's Office, Klaus Reichenbach (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], said today in East Berlin at the start of talks with Chancellory Minister Rudolf Seiters (CDU). [passage omitted]

Seiters said that his visit is particularly concerned with deepening contacts, mainly with his colleague Reichenbach, and fashioning very close cooperation. Seiters stressed that he is not on a mission to East Berlin to put forward fresh proposals.

Reichenbach said in response to journalists' questions that he has the impression that the room for negotiation for his government "is not quite so small." The new government is self-confident enough and will "fight a little" for this room for negotiation. That will not be easy, "as we have the weaker cards. But, sometimes the skat player with the weaker cards wins." Asked whether he meant by that that the envisaged 1:1 exchange might be raised by M1,000 [GDR marks] to an upper-limit of M5,000, Reichenbach repeated that he sees room for maneuver.

Proposed Monetary Union 'Fair'

LD2604180890 Hamburg DPA in German
1633 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Bonn and East Berlin see room for negotiating changes in their talks on a state treaty, monetary union, and on the issue of the exchange regulations, for example. This became clear in East Berlin today during talks between FRG Chancellory Minister Rudolf Seiters (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere, and other members of the government.

Seiters said in response to journalists' questions that the monetary union proposed by Bonn is a fair and responsible offer which goes to the upper limit of what is justifiable. However, they will not be equal negotiations if there is no room for maneuver. Seiters responded to the question of whether it is conceivable for him that more than the planned M4,000 [GDR marks] in cash could be exchanged by GDR citizens at 1:1: "It is conceivable for me in any event that there will be a treaty at the end of the negotiations which is not identical to the offer." [passage omitted]

De Maiziere, Seiters Meet

LD2604212390 East Berlin ADN in English 2100 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The pace of talks between the two German states is determined by their common goal to introduce monetary, economic and social union early in July. GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere told FRG chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters here on Thursday [26 April].

Seiters, arriving here in the afternoon, qualified Bonn's offer for the treaty as fair and responsible. "We certainly suggested the utmost we consider right and warrantable. It is no tactical offer. Talks are being held on an equal footing," he said.

Following talks with his GDR counterpart Klaus Reichenbach earlier in the day, Seiters said the two sides had worked well and precisely, all according to schedule.

GDR and FRG experts opened exploratory talks on the issue here the day before which are to be continued as official negotiations on Friday.

Krause, Tietmeyer Begin 2nd Round of Talks

LD2704100190 Hamburg DPA in German 0850 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The second round of German-German talks on the planned currency union and the state treaty began this morning in East Berlin. The expert delegation—headed by Bundesbank Director Hans Tietmeyer and GDR Parliamentary State Secretary Guenter Krause—met in the Council of Ministers building.

Before the start, Tietmeyer told journalists that he could not yet say whether this second meeting would produce any results. He confirmed that the question of subsidy compensation for the people in the GDR would be discussed. As yet, the proposal from Bonn does not provide for compensation of price subsidies. GDR delegation head Krause declared he saw scope for negotiation. If one negotiated, one also could achieve something.

After the first round with State Secretary Krause on Wednesday, Tietmeyer announced to journalists that official negotiations would start this Friday. In the meantime, however, it was stressed by Bonn that it would still be "expert talks." Only when the top politicians joined in would there be "official negotiations."

Talks Adjourn Until 30 Apr

LD2704142190 Hamburg DPA in German 1338 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A series of advances were made in the intra-German talks on the monetary union and state treaty in East Berlin today. This was announced to journalists by the delegation leaders, Bundesbank Director Hans Tietmeyer and GDR Parliamentary Secretary of State Guenter Krause, after the end of the second round.

Tietmeyer spoke of a "very productive meeting". They were confident that consensus could be achieved about outstanding questions. The talks are to continue on Monday [30 April].

State Secretary on Military Contacts With Iraq

LD2604173590 Hamburg DPA in German 1536 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to the Disarmament and Defense Ministry's information, the GDR has not supplied any chemicals to Iraq for the manufacture of weapons. State Secretary Bertram Wieczorek stated this at a question time initiated by the Greens/Alliance '90, in which the opposition parliamentary group hinted that there are indications of relevant GDR deliveries.

The government of the GDR rejects the possession, deployment, passing on, and manufacture of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The state secretary stressed with regard to military contacts with Iraq that since 1988 there have been no GDR trainers in the country. The contacts have been as follows: 1980/81 - training of combat divers in Iraq, 1980/87 - the building up of an exercise area by the NVA's [National People's Army] chemical service, 1985 - the deployment of sports trainers to the Iraqi forces.

Eppelmann on Disarmament, National Peoples Army

AU2704102990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by Rainer Funke; place and date not given: "We Stick to Treaties, Consensus With the Soviet Generals"]

[Text] [Funke] Mr. Eppelmann, your meeting with the FRG defense minister is approaching....

[Eppelmann] It will take place on 27 April in Cologne.

[Funke] What will you discuss with him?

[Eppelmann] A number of problems. When two republics are to grow together, this process cannot disregard the two armies. We will have to prepare the Two-Plus-Four negotiations and we will have to discuss a few details and problems, things which may have to change because the relations between the two states have changed.

[Funke] What are those?

[Eppelmann] I do not want to say, not even after the talk with Mr. Stoltenberg.

[Funke] You talked to the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces. The questions on which you concurred have been reported. Where did you not achieve a consensus?

[Eppelmann] There was no issue on which we quarreled. Perhaps differences will still emerge. But for this, too, the Two-Plus-Four round will be the decisive body. I was able to assure—I think credibly—both high-ranking Soviet officers that the GDR will remain a reliable partner under the De Maiziere Government, will stick to its treaties, and that in those places where political or economic conditions have changed—and this is to be assumed—new contracts have to be negotiated with mutual agreement, and that we will not cancel any contracts unilaterally.

[Funke] Disarmament and conversion, which you are advocating, cost money. Where will you get his from, if the defense budget is considerably cut back—as has been heard?

[Eppelmann] I have not yet said that the defense budget will be reduced. I can imagine very well—because in the meantime I have become aware of the fact that disarmament also costs money—that the 16 billion will not be reduced much at first but that the money will be distributed differently; that is, that no new expensive weapons are purchased or at least far fewer than in the past and that this money is put into conversion programs, for instance, or in retraining programs or social programs or into environmental protection.

[Funke] What does your social program look like, for instance?

[Eppelmann] I cannot tell you this yet. I do not yet know the details.

[Funke] How do you conceive a withdrawal of foreign troops from German territory?

[Eppelmann] Only, and perhaps in a particular way, within a European peace system. I expect stimuli from the results of the Vienna disarmament agreements. I proceed from the premise that afterward the troops of the Allies on German territory will be considerably reduced and that the second disarmament round will start immediately after the successful conclusion of these negotiations in Vienna. I have the impression that we are in a hopeful and good phase, so that it might indeed be possible to achieve a sensible European peace system before the end of the century, a peace system in which there are only very few soldiers in Europe and more of them only along the borders—the borders of the continent.

[Funke] What is your attitude toward the trade union in the National People's Army?

[Eppelmann] Yes, this is a question on which I do not yet have a final opinion, because the talks with the trade union are still to take place. At least some of the representatives insist on the right to strike. I am for the soldier's right to refuse to obey an order which violates ethics or decency or humanity, but I cannot imagine a company saying: We do not feel like it, Major.

[Funke] You yourself were a conscientious objector and a construction soldier—therefore, I could have imagined that you would be the best advocate for abolishing compulsory military service.

[Eppelmann] I was at that time. But the conditions in he GDR have changed, after all. At the time, when I was a construction soldier, the possibility of civilian alternative service did net yet exist. And the second thing, which I did not quite understand in the past, is: In the meantime I have come to think of a number of civic and political reasons which speak for retaining compulsory service. Here I would like to comment very clearly on the statements of the Party of Democratic Socialism and of the Alliance 90: In my view, they are moving in the wrong direction. They call for a state within the state, something which we do not really want. If we want soldiers who are close to the citizens—once a year "half a blood transfusion"—we have to retain compulsory military service.

Defense Minister Eppelmann Lauds Army Loyalty

LD2704133290 East Berlin ADN in English 1301 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Disarmament and Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann has thanked the soldiers of the National People's Army [NVA] for loyal and honourable performance of their duties.

On the occasion of regular discharge of soldiers, Eppelmann here on Friday pointed to the political turn in the GDR and said: "The Army remained loyal to the people. It has not left this place and remembered its role as a people's Army even in last autumn's most critical situations. My respect also goes to the border guards who have shown control, level-headedness and closeness to the people since November 9 (opening of the Wall)."

The minister told parliament on Thursday that the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Army had now become a true people's, a citizens' Army. He announced drastic cuts in arms spending. He said he would ask his FRG counterpart Gerhard Stoltenberg why the 1990 West German defence budget was the highest in the post-war history.

Diestel Denies Intent To Use Stasi Structures

LD2604104190 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 0900 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Today [26 April] in the People's Chamber, Interior Minister Diestel denied allegations that he wants to use former MFS [State Security Ministry] structures to build up a new intelligence service. He does not see the need for it. Also, no files will be handed over to West German authorities, said Diestel. His goal is the quick and final dissolution of the Stasi and its successor

organizations. Diestel expressly praised the work of the citizen's committees, with whom he wants to continue to cooperate. He refuses to destroy the files, as they will be needed, above all, for rehabilitation. The interior minister conceded, however, that their truthfulness must be questioned. Courts will have to decide who is guilty and who is not. Before that, transport minister Gibtner spoke about cooperation with the Federal Republic. Comments from ministers on questions relating to the government statement are continuing.

Ministers Announce Economic Reform Measures

LD2604180290 Hamburg DPA in German 1502 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA/VWD)—The ministers in De Maiziere's Government today announced details of their plans for economic reform laws to the People's Chamber in East Berlin. Finance Minister Walter Romberg (Social Democratic Party) intends to present the draft laws for a new tax system at the beginning of May. Work is also being carried out on the rules governing public finances in localities and the laender. However, price reforms and dismantling subsidies, which Modrow's government failed to do, will no longer be reached by the time of the monetary union, because of the present pressures of time. There are still no exact ideas on how subsidies should be dealt with during the monetary union.

Economy Minister Gerhard Pohl (Christian Democratic Union) also intends to present legal stipulations against all unfair competition in May. A monopolies office, with its work coordinated with the federal government, should prevent state monopolies now from becoming private monopolies. Pohl announced regulations on the reimbursement of losses incurred through conversion as well as on the autonomous formation of prices in industry and trade, and on additional state duties on imported goods. The minister intends to prevent every form of speculation on land, or he may allow GDR citizens the option of buying "at normal market prices" during privatization.

He criticized the fact that of the 9,000 applications received to convert state-owned enterprises (VEB) into GmbH [private enterprise] only 75 have been implemented. A further 150 VEB's are "ready for conversion." He announced that the GDR Government and the FRG Government will make 1 billion GDR marks and 1 billion Deutsch marks available respectively by the end of this year for the establishment of medium-scale enterprises.

Agriculture Minister Peter Pollack (non-affiliated) intends, as a matter of priority, to introduce measures for the medium-term protection of GDR agriculture. He favors a central licensing of agricultural imports and will strive for increased processing and better marketing of local agricultural products.

Interior Minister Favors Ban on Republicans

AU2604211290 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Apr 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Diestel in Favor of Ban of Republicans"]

[Text] Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (German Social Union) confirmed his "absolutely negative" attitude toward the Republicans on the second channel of the GDR television on Friday [20 April]. "We will certainly bring in a motion to ban far-right parties, such as the Republicans," he stressed. This party should be excluded from political activities in the GDR. Diestel wants to pursue a policy that "will not allow this party to gain a foothold in our country." Whether he will be able to achieve this will also depend on the legal situation.

Liberals Plan To Merge With FRG's FDP

AU2604211190 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Apr 90 p 2

[Rudolf Janert report: "Liberals Confirm Intention of Merging With Free Democratic Party of Germany]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—At its most recent meeting, the Executive Committee of the League of Free Democrats—the Liberals (BFD) approved the government coalition formed with the Alliance and the Social Democratic Party. Chairman Rainer Ortleb announced this at a news conference in Berlin after the session.

Deputy Chairman Wolfgang Rauls confirmed that the three liberal parties in the GDR want to merge with the FRG's Free Democratic Party of Germany to form an all-German party. However, this requires a reform of the GDR's administration in order to restore the laender structure. [passage omitted]

New Mass Grave Discovered in Jamlitz

AU2604192490 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 24 Apr 90 p 2

[Jan v. Flocken report: "Third Mass Grave Discovered"]

[Text] Berlin—The chain of sensational discoveries of mass graves has not been interrupted since 23 March. At that time, a mass grave was discovered at Fuenfeichen, then came Schmachtenhagen near Oranienburg; yesterday a mass grave of former camp inmates was opened in Jamlitz near Lieberose under the supervision of the Beeskow Kreis public prosecutor's office. From September 1945 to April 1947 one of the most infamous

internment camps of the Soviet secret police NKVD/MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry] was located at Jamlitz. It housed an average of 6,000 prisoners and first served as a collection station for prisoners from Cottbus and Guben. Later on, inmates from the camps in Frankfurt/Oder, Posen, and Ketschendorf were added.

According to cautious estimates, 4,000 to 5,000 prisoners died of starvation and disease in Jamlitz. They were thrown into mass graves south of the former area of the camp and in a young forest to the east of the railroad track to Guben. There the gruesome traces of the past have now been found with the help of former camp inmates.

Lithuanians Send 'Desperate Appeal' for Help

LD2604181590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] On behalf of the Lithuanian parliament, three deputies have addressed a desperate appeal to the Hungarian National Assembly asking for help. We have obtained a copy of the letter.

[Unidentified reporter] The letter describes the present situation in the Baltic republic, and affirms that the Lithuanian delegation holding talks in Moscow would still like to reach an agreement with the Soviet leaders. The Lithuanian parliament deputies in their letter recall the historical similarities of the endeavors of the Lithuanian and Hungarian peoples.

[Announcer] Allow me to read two lines from this letter, merely to indicate its tone:

We are turning to you while we are still able to speak freely on behalf of the democratically-elected parliament. Every single hour of the blockade seems like an eternity. Do not leave us alone.

Government Spokesman on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2604225590 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—The Council of Ministers held a session on Thursday, on which government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok and Brigadier General Antal Annus, government commissioner, briefed journalists.

Mr. Annus said that the Soviet troops withdrawal from Hungary is progressing according to the plans set down in the agreement. Talks were held on April 23 and 24 with the Soviet delegation, led by the Soviet Government commissioner, about the disputed issues.

At the meeting, the sides were able to separate the disputed issues from the issue of implementing the pull-out according to the contract, as views do not differ in this respect.

The position of the sides continues to differ regarding maintenance, or the lack of it, of facilities leased out by Hungary. The Soviet side does not recognize the Hungarian claims in this area. Progress was made in summing up the debated issues, and experts will continue to deal with these from now on. Further talks are expected to be held in May, and, if no agreement is reached then, the question will go before the Hungarian-Soviet joint committee.

Mr. Annus said that in the debated areas, Hungarian national assets valued at more than 100,000 million forints are at issue. The Soviet claims total some 2,700 million roubles. The task of the experts is to reveal precisely what happened in the period between the end of the Second World War and 1956, and the conditions under which the Soviet Army took possession of the Hungarian-owned facilities.

The first agreement under which Soviet troops would use barracks, airfields and other facilities in Hungary, and the ins and outs of their leasing these, was concluded in 1948. Between 1948 and 1953, Hungary saw to a part of the maintenance and renovation of the buildings, and even carried out certain investments, according to investigations so far. The Soviet side only reimbursed around 10 per cent of the sums spent on this.

Mr. Annus said the environmental damage caused by the Soviet troops during their stay in Hungary should also be examined. Asked whether the pull-out could be accelerated, Mr. Annus said it was not out of the question, but this mainly depended on an agreement between the two governments. Railway capacities are limited, and this means some of the troops would have to use public roads if the withdrawal were to be stepped-up. This would create a sort of "war zone" in the concerned regions and in sub-Carpathia for several months.

Mr. Bajnok said the government mainly discussed themes which will make the change in government and the transfer of matters go smoothly.

The cabinet will prepare a situation analysis on the national economy and the state of governmental activity, and will collect all information that the new government requires in its work.

The government also dealt with the state of this year's budget.

It stated that the budget deficit in the first quarter of the year was lower than planned.

At the same time, Hungarian-Soviet trade shows a major decline, which has unfavourable effects on the budget.

As a consequence of declining turnover, the budget stands to lose revenues of some 10,000 million forints.

In rouble-accounting foreign trade, Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union are expected to drop by about 15 per cent and imports by 12 per cent this year.

The drop in Hungarian foreign trade with the other CMEA countries will also be major: Exports are to go down by 26 per cent, and imports by 21 per cent as compared to last year's level.

Nemeth Meets Soviet Envoy for Farewell Visit

LD2604222190 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, received the farewell visit of Boris Stukalin, outgoing ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, on Thursday.

At the meeting, the sides agreed that developing bilateral relations is in the lasting interest of both countries.

They stressed that the changes that have taken place in Hungary and the Soviet Union, and in the East European region generally, create new conditions and possibilities for continuing cooperation, and both sides should strive to take account of these and put them to practical use.

Democratic Forum Statement on Romania

LD2504213190 Budapest MTI in English 1906 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—The National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] issued a statement on the situation of Hungarians in Romania. The statement notes:

The National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum is shocked to experience that the reassuring settlement of the Romanian home political relations is, regrettably, still pending. A new wave of refugees has begun to leave Romania in the past weeks. The reasons for this, apart from a feeling of being threatened, are disappointment over the lack of achievements of the revolution, and uncertainty, after the downfall of the dictatorship. The Hungarian minority hoped for the peace and security of democracy, rather than persecution. The European standards that came about in history alike oblige all nations and countries living in Europe.

As advice cannot be offered to anyone in this situation. We note only the following:

Abandoning hope, leaving the mother country, panicking, and mass exodus are not a feasible road. Calm and sobriety are needed so that no-one be obsessed by the phantom of hopelessness. The multinational population of Transylvania has faced a similarly difficult situation on several occasions in the course of our common history.

The continuous growth in the number of refugees also makes it impossible to create the basic conditions of existence. Now, when the Western states are radically restricting the reception of refugees, the Hungarian mother country has also been placed in a particularly difficult situation.

The National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum expresses its solidarity with the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania and the Hungarian national minority it wishes to represent. The national Presidium condemns the anti-Hungarian provocations, and all manifestations against the minorities, condemns psychical and physical terror, and hate.

The National Presidium notes that the lasting and reassuring settlement of relations is inconceivable without guaranteeing the normal conditions of life of the Hungarian, German and other minorities in Romania, and the recognition of their minority rights, and without ensuring the individual and collective rights guaranteed by laws and realized in practice.

The National Presidium expresses that, just like in the past, it will do everything possible also as a governmental factor, in the interest of the Hungarian national minority in Romania, and the other minorities as well.

MDF Holds News Conference on Policies

LD2704135190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Although at the news conference held today by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] foreign political issues were mentioned, the main topic was domestic policy. Attila Miklos Nemeth represented Midday Chronicle [this program].

[Begin Nemeth recording] The MDF has a concrete candidate for the position of state head, but it would be too early to discuss this, just as it would be to talk about the personnel composition of the government which is being formed. Ferenc Kulin, vice-chairman of the MDF, said this when replying to questions. He said that the coalition talks are not disturbed by the internal strife within the Smallholders, since the MDF entered into an alliance not with individual people, but with a party and its program. The vice-chairman precluded the possibility that the Smallholders might split up, and he considered it natural that the party's national board will replace some of its leaders.

The MDF reaffirmed that the Agriculture Ministry will go to the Smallholders. The new government, by the way, will take over the current structure, with the difference that by merging the Finance Ministry and one of the economic ministries, a key ministry will be created, and it wishes to deal with labor affairs and employment policy at the level of an independent ministry. As Vice-Chairman Ferenc Kulin said, those who are placed in the leading ministry positions kept for the MDF will be, primarily, not the members of the party, but independent experts of great knowledge and international prestige. Naturally, those who recently were foreign citizens cannot be considered.

At the news conference, the MDF delegation which was in Vilnius at the second congress of Sajudis reported on its trip. Huba Kozma, member of the national presidium of the MDF, was of the view that what is happening with Lithuania now is just what happened with Hungry in 1956: The courageous deed is recognized, but the concrete assistance fails to come about. By the way, Lithuania expects not political standpoints, but economic assistance, from Hungary.

In connection with the first congress of the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz], the presidium of MDF expresses its solidarity with the Magyar national minority which hopes to be represented by the RMDSz. At the same time, it considers a settlement of the Romanian situation to be inconceivable without a

constitutional guarantee for full self-determination of the minorities who live there, and the genuine assertion of these rights. [end recording]

New Parliament To Hold Opening Session 2 May

LD2604124190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Nowadays many dates are given as the day of regime change; well, in my opinion, the opening session of the new parliament could also be named as such a date. This will take place next week, on Wednesday, 2 May. But will the parliamentary parties manage to come to an agreement on the agenda? We can learn the answer from reporter Peter Szorenyi:

[Begin Szorenyi recording] Excuse me, which committee are we talking about, asked Viktor Orban, when the leaders of the parliamentary groups had been bargaining for almost an hour. The politicians have just shared out the posts of the various parliamentary committees. Some 50 posts were successfully distributed to everybody's satisfaction within an hour and a half. This was not easy, because Jozsef Antall, creating great amusement, said that he would have rather entered into the completion of an apartment swap involving four partners. A compromise was also made: because of the FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats] proposal, the two small parties, thus the Christian Democrats also, will each receive two posts in the combined committees instead of the earlier one post. There are two such bill-preparing forums out of the ten.

The leaders of the parliamentary groups also decided that in addition to Otto Hapsburg, they will also invite the chairman and secretary of the Paliamentary Assembly of the European Council to the festive session.

The salary of members of parliament will be about 32,500 forints gross, which is half the salaries of ministers, although this decree is only temporary, valid for about two months.

Finally, they adopted the exact text of the law acknowledging the significance of the 1956 October revolution and freedom fight. [end recording]

Hungarian Socialist Party Holds News Conference

LD2604222390 Budapest MTI in English 1413 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP/MSZP] rejects the view expounded by Smallholders politician Jozsef Torgyan that the opposition will lose its basis of existence because an oppositionist government will come into power, a press conference of the Hungarian Socialist Party was told on Thursday.

Board member Pal Vastagh, secretary of the HSP's parliamentary group, said the Socialists' parliamentary faction continues to prepare itself for the role of an active and constructive opposition.

Vastagh said it was important for the parliamentary regulations to ensure the opportunity for making initiatives and pursuing an active policy also to parties in a minority position. Should this not be the case, he added, the one-party rule might easily emerge once again.

Mention was made at the news conference about the recently published book, "Unburnt Documents", which includes a number of letters, notes and minutes dated from the past decades and treated confidentially.

Spokesman Viktor Polgar said that the HSP Presidium ordered the party's national coordination committee to examine the circumstances of publication and how the documents came into light.

At the same time, the spokesman pointed out it seemed certain that the manuscript material of the book had been compiled still before the HSP came into existence.

Journalists were told that the HSP had drawn up its comprehensive balance sheet, and simultaneously gave over 98 per cent of the party assets to the government or passed it back into social ownership.

In connection with the celebration of May 1, they said that to avoid the appearance of a party policy feast, the HSP would not organize a separate event, but its senior politicians would attend the trade union programmes in the capital.

Social Democratic Party Officials Resign

LD2604230190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Three Social Democrats from Veszprem County have resigned from their positions in the national leadership. Ildiko Keskeny, Bela Gelencser and Laszlo Jozsa took it amiss that the party leadership had not analyzed the reasons for the election fiasco and that substantive work after the elections had been hampered by the making of rude personal comments. The three founding party activists have now begun to collect signatures, in order to force, in this manner, the soonest possible convening of the party's extraordinary congress.

New Economic Journal To Be Published

LD2604144790 Budapest MTI in English 1255 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—Objective Press Studio, set up by 10 large companies, is shortly to bring out its first publication, the business journal "OBJECTIVE", journalists were told at the studio's centre on Thursday.

The newspaper, appearing first every month and later weekly, is designed to inform domestic company managers and prospective foreign investors about various branches of the national economy.

Walesa Apologizes to Jaruzelski for Remarks

LD2604175290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1545 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] At his first news conference since the Solidarity Congress, held at the Gdansk heat and power station complex, Lech Walesa apologized to President Wojciech Jaruzelski for the fact that the discussion over the last dozen or so days could have created the impression that the union chairman hated the president and that he was eager to get his job. It is a bad thing, he said, that here and there we insult the president's office. The law should be improved, not broken.

Lech Walesa announced the setting up of political discussion clubs with Christian and left-wing orientation around NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity. He also spoke against, at least for the time being, any potential cooperation between Solidarity and the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation].

Walesa Post-Congress News Conference

LD2604230290 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Gdasnk, April 26—During the first press conference held after the end of the Solidarnosc congress at the Gdansk-based heat and power generating plant here today, Lech Walesa answered questions concerning trade unions and political and economic issues.

Asked to comment on the congress resolution on parliamentary and presidential elections Walesa said: "It is not good that here and there we offend the post of the president. We must not do this. We can have a grudge against a person but I do not like things which are said in papers concerning changes and some illegal solution though it was me who started all this. I know that you will not like this but if the general has drawn a conclusion that I hate him so much and that I am anxious to have his post I apologize to him. That is not what I intended. I am playing it honest and clean."

Asked to assess the congress, Walesa stressed that "one could not expect any concrete results immediately. The congress could not have been different than Poland, and today, there are no clear situations in this country. I know one can have an impression that I did not have anything to offer during the congress. But I have a programme—a political and a trade union one."

Lech Walesa did not answer openly when asked whom he saw as his deputy in the national committee. He stressed that every member had equal chances but he as the "driver" reserved for himself the right to choose collaborators. He added he rather staked on an experienced activist with a name. It will be probably be a man from Gdansk just because of difficulties to find an apartment for someone from a different region. Asked about a possible cooperiaton with the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) the Solidarnosc chairman said: "I have never fought against this movement, but I am a 'traumatic case'. I will never forget a betrayal. After all Solidarnosc had 10 million members. It would be wrong, however, if the Solidarnosc monopoly did not allow other trade unions to operate. I think that when new people without any grudges and burdens will come we will cooperate in future as this is what pluralism requires."

Answering a question concerning his plans for May day Walesa said: "After my hard work it would be the best way to celebrate the holiday with a good rest."

Answering questions and charges concerning the economic policy, Walesa stressed that the Balcerowicz plan was the only one presented so far and though it was brutal for society it was proving effective. Walesa also spoke about positive assessments of the plan voiced by Western experts.

Walesa was also asked about his opinion about Edward Gierek's interview published in the book titled "Aborted Decade". There is all arrogance and self-confidence in this book. This does not serve it well. There are too many verdicts, too. The Gierek decade (1970-80) included good and bad elements, as for instance, Poland's opening to the world, but also debts, wasted chances and losses. There are things for which Gierek should have a monument and others for which he should be taken to account, said Walesa.

Pro-Solidarity Daily Greets Second Congress

AU2604204490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Apr 90 p 1

['Greetings message' from the editors of GAZETA WYBORCZA to the delegates of the Solidarity Second Congress: "'Solidarity's' Decade"]

[Text] This is truly a special day, a special day for all those people who, throughout the dark days of martial law, punctuated by police hunts, escapes, arrests, and trials did not abandon the "Solidarity" banner. The road from 13 December to the present day was long, hard, and stony.

But we made it. Although not all of us made it. At this moment, the moment of the victory of freedom and "Solidarity," we turn our thoughts to all those people who laid down their lives for freedom and "Solidarity." We remember the miners from the "Wujek" coal mine, Father Jerzy Popieluszko, and all the victims of martial law. Thanks to them, today we are able to enjoy democracy and we should be proud of the fact that we are emerging from dictatorship to democracy without violence, hate, or revenge.

Today this is the most important thing and more important than all the things that divide us. Again, we have come to "Oliwia" thanks to the wise and consistent policies of Lech Walesa and the other leaders of "Solidarity." Thanks to the tough resolve shown by our

colleagues when they were in hiding, out in the open, or in prison and who during the workers' strikes and during the weeks, months, and years stubbornly and repeatedly stated that "there can be no freedom without 'Solidarity.'" Thanks to the church which taught us courage and humility.

We were helped morally and materially by our friends from other countries and by our Polish compatriots who live scattered all over the world. They too are the joint creators of this victory.

Above all it is society that has triumphed. "Solidarity" survived and returned because it was needed by the Poles.

On the opening of this second congress we address the following wish to our union: May we always aspire to be needed by Poland.

The editors.

Parliamentary Floor Groups Assess Foreign Policy

LD2604044190 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—During their meeting here today deputies from the Parliamentary Floor Group of the Democratic Left-Wing positively assessed the overall foreign policy of the government although they did not conceal that e.g. the strategy concerning Poland's future security raises their doubts.

Participants in the meeting stressed the correctness of the thesis that it is necessary to strip Poland's foreign policy of ideological burden. As the left-wing we have to clearly formulate the stance on new relations with the Germans but without any harm to the alliance with the USSR, the deputies said.

Deputies form the Democratic Party Parliamentary Floor Group pointed to the lack of progress in negotiations with and suggested that it is high time to submit a motion to the effect that Poland be associated with this organization. The DP [Democratic Party] caucus supported the government's policy towards the German states, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Deputies of the PSL-O (United Peasant Party-Rebirth) parliamentary floor group resolved to give their support for Poland's foreign policy while not being uncritical. They criticised e.g. some initiatives concerning the situation in Lithuania.

Demand Foreign Service Review

LD2604033590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] The members of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] have requested the ministers of foreign affairs and foreign economic cooperation to present the results of the personnel review in the Polish foreign service from the point of view of professionalism and also the appropriate representation of the interests of the Republic of Poland in foreign states. The deputies and senators recognized that the continued employment by Polish foreign outposts of persons compromised in the eyes of society is unacceptable.

Sejm Begins 3 Days of Meetings in Warsaw

Session Opens

LD2604103490 Warsaw PAP in English 0930 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—The Sejm (Lower House) has started its three-day sitting this morning.

The Sejm made some changes in the agenda, one of them connected with deputies' draft law on old age and disability pensions. The main point on today's agenda is Poland's foreign policy in 1990. President Wojciech Jaruzelski is present. There is also numerous attendance in the diplomatic gallery.

Foreign Minister Kryzsztof Skubiszewski delivered a report on foreign policy.

Skubiszewski Speech on Foreign Policy

LD2604123190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0814 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Speech by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at Sejm session—live relay]

[Text] Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, may it please the House! From the first days of its existence, the government has done everything to restore the full independence of the state, for without independence there will not be in society and the nation either the creative forces that we need nor the great effort that Poland today expects from everyone of us.

The basis of the state's foreign policy is the national interest and the Polish raison d'etat, implemented while adhering to the dictates of international law. My speech today specifies and clarifies our interests and our raison d'etat.

The government carries on its foreign policy in circumstances characterized by rapidly evolving and thorough changes in the country and in the world. The democratization of the state, which began in 1989 and is confirmed and developed today, provides foreign policy a strong support and ensures that this policy accords with the national interest. For, our policy serves independence, promotes the political and economic transformations in the country, and strengthens Poland's international position in the new European and international order that is being created. The stability of the Polish state and its political order, established last year, allows us to carry on the present policy.

I believe that we have achieved a good position, both within our region and in Europe.

The transformations in Poland are accompanied by fundamental changes in Europe, particularly in our immediate neighborhood. They have a direct impact on our international situation and on our policy. Through its policy, the government is ensuring the state's security; acquiring external support and goodwill for the transformations taking place in Poland; including Poland in organized European cooperation, whose aim is the unity of our continent; and transforming relations with neighboring states and nations into good, partner-like and close relations.

We are conducting an open policy, a policy which also associates our interests with dynamic changes taking place in the world. We are seeking the understanding and support of the public; without this, our foreign policy can be neither credible nor effective. Of significance in this sphere is the support of the Sejm and Senate. Poland and the Poles abroad have united in supporting the government's position regarding Poland's participation in the conference of the six states devoted to the unification of Germany, and on the issue of the treaty confirming the final form of the Polish-German border. This example shows that, for all the differences existing in Poland, there is consensus on the main directions of foreign policy.

Just as Poland is different today, so, too, is the international environment in which we live. Our influence on the course of events has its own proportions and limits. However, the change of system which was and is being achieved in Poland has shaped the face of today's Europe.

That's in Poland. Thanks to Solidarity, a movement began which eliminated totalitarianism in our region, and brought about a reaction in the West to these transformations which, altogether, has created prospects of European unity in freedom and democracy.

At the same time, ideological divisions are becoming a thing of the past. Democracy has considerable opportunities to influence foreign policy. The global rivalry of the superpowers is giving way to dialogue and cooperation. By the same token, the threat of war is disappearing. Opportunities for the independent, extra-bloc cooperation of states on the European continent as a whole, which up to now did not exist, are opening up. This facilitates the realization of our national aspirations. Nor are we losing world interdependence from our field of vision.

Thus, we have before us today great opportunities for Poland. In particular, the means are arising for making our very difficult geostrategic and geopolitical location a source of strength and advantage, and not of dependency and (?stagnation). At the same time, the nature of the transformations is such that they are already bringing with them many new challenges, uncertainties, and even dangers. In any case, the new situation requires a very active foreign policy and, I believe, the government has fulfilled this requirement.

May it please the House. From these initial arrangements, let me move on to the concept of our foreign policy, encompassing within this concept the priorities of aims, activities, and (?concerns). Our state's foreign policy, conceived as a cohesive whole, expresses itself within the following priorities: first, we will be cocreating the system of European security and, by the same token, cooperating for the unity of our continent. An important tool and mode of action is the CSCE. We feel that the role of military force in European politics should be subject to constant limitation. We will be developing our ties with European organizations and groups, especially with the European communities and the Council of Europe.

The second point: Simultaneously and in parallel with our European policy, with (?strong) [word indistinct], we will live closely with our huge neighbors, namely the USSR and Germany. I say Germany, though there do still exist two separate states. But we must look to the future, and the unification of these states has already begun. And so our policy will continue to reconstruct relations with the USSR in the direction of the appropriate shaping of mutual interests, goodneighborly cooperation, and partnership based on equal rights. As to the western neighbour, we have made a start in Polish-German cooperation, implementing joint aims and interests. We will continue this work with the assumption that the unifying and then unified Germany will confirm our western border as the definitive one.

The third point: An important supplement to the dualism of Europe and huge neighbors is our policy of new regional ties. Among the former and still existing, we have the Warsaw Pact and, in its European part, the CEMA. I will speak of them separately. Here we are interested in regional ties, new and future ones. In particular, we are interested in the ties in the triangle Czechoslovakia-Poland-Hungary. We are also interested in the further southern direction, next to Hungary and also the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy, as well as the Baltic direction, which is very important to us. I am thinking here of the conference of states on the Baltic, organized by us and Sweden.

The fourth point: The widening of political, economic, and cultural civilization ties with the states of Western Europe and the United States, generally with the world of Western civilization.

The fifth point: The development of relations, recently neglected to a certain extent, with the states of other continents, including in this Latin America and, generally, the nonaligned states.

The sixth point: Seeking a reduction of our enormous foreign indebtedness, both in relation to capital and interest payments. The maintenance, coordination, and

effective exploitation of economic and financial aid for Poland and bringing about from this aid the basis for bi-laterally beneficial economic cooperation.

The seventh point: Cooperation with international organizations, especially with the UN, especially in the solution of global problems. Here in the first place we have the protection of the environment. We are interested, obviously, not only in moves on a world scale. We have in our attention the protection of the natural environment both of Poland and the region to which Poland belongs, in close association with a pan-European ecological strategy.

The eighth point: We will be strengthening observance of law in international relations; and so we will be strengthening the (?points of) international law. Our special concern will be the defense of human rights and basic freedoms.

And the priorities. The last, the ninth, the last but by no means the least important, abolishing barriers and creating facilities for the movement of people, especially as it relates to the links of Poles with the world and Polonia with the country.

May it please the House. Some of the priorities which I cited a moment ago, the priorities of our foreign policy, require certain (?understanding). I will not analyze all of them in my speech. Some of them are obvious. Some of them, however, require closer consideration. Let me therefore move to the priorities which I cited at the very beginning, namely the policy of European unity. The division of Europe into East and West still exists to a considerable degree, at least in the economic respect. However, as regards political systems in Central Europe, this division may be regarded as generally close to [word indistinct]. We now face the task of creating unity on our continent. We must begin the construction of a general European system of security. What is significant here, as a pan-European platform, is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with the participation of both superpowers and Canada. The new tasks of this conference require its institutionalization to a certain degree, which is served by the plan put forward in January by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a plan for the creation of a council of European cooperation, a plan which is currently being discussed in European chancelleries.

A few words about this plan. The council for European cooperation would be a permanent political body of the CSCE and would play a constructive and coordinating role. In particular, the council would conduct a review and an assessment of current pan-European problems in the sphere of political, military, economic, and humanitarian cooperation and protection of the environment.

And it would do this with the aim of increasing the effectiveness of CSCE decisions. The council will function with the aim of resolving mutual problems relating to the military aspects of security in Europe, including the functioning of the means of building trust and security, and the avoidance of potential threats, conflicts, and disputes. It would also receive and consider new proposals relating to the development of cooperation and contacts in all spheres. Next, the council would coordinate the functioning of institutions created in the CSCE process; it would support contacts and the inclusion of the CSCE system to an ever greater extent in cooperation with regional and supraregional organizations, of which there are many in Europe. The council would also prepare a conference of CSCE states at the highest level, a so-called summit meeting. It could itself deliberate in various teams, also at the level of ministers of foreign affairs. The council could work with the aid of three commissions, namely the political relations and security commission, the economy and ecology commission, and the humanitarian questions commission. Thereby, there is room in our proposal for coordination with the Czechoslovak project for the creation of a European security commission. We are counting on consultations in this respect. The all-European system of security will, in time, supersede the system of alliances in Europe. It is precisely in the all-European system that we will be seeking external security for our state. But, this system must now be created.

Nonetheless, already today in the face of the reduction, if not the downright dissapearance, of the threat of war in Europe, the role of military forces in European relations is changing. Therefore, the role of alliances is also changing. This is clear progress. In a thus conceived revival of the CSCE, we see a chance for the gradual approach to a European confederation, that is, to the realization of the idea of the President of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand. The European communities remain an important link in (?the midst of) the search for European unity—in coal and steel, in the economic arena, and in nuclear energy. They have bodies linked a long time ago. They create in fact one community, though the letter of the law differentiates three. From 1 January 1993 there is to arise one, internal European market embracing 12 states of the community. A union of these states is being created.

Thereby, an urgent task stands before Poland's all-European policy, to sign an agreement on association with the community. We have already put forward the appropriate resolution and we are counting on the commencement of talks. Simultaneously, we are developing other ties. Above all, I will name the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, where we are seeking membership. We have also made the first contacts with the West European (?Union); this is an alliance between a number of West European states and NATO as well. This organization, NATO, of course passes outside the European region. Nonetheless, let us (?concentrate) thereon. We support the idea of an European economic sphere including the whole of the continent.

Speaking of all-European policy, it is not possible to omit disarmament.

Our policy in this sphere sets itself a number of aims. They are as follows. To bring about the reduction of the potential of conventional forces in Europe as a result of the Vienna negotiations; undertaking, in the company of interested states, negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons; greater openness in military matters, namely progress in the area of military means for the building of trust and also methods of verification; participation in governmental and extra-governmental discussions on military doctrines and the development of military contacts by the Polish Ministry of Defense with foreign partners; and finally, participation in other disarmament negotiations, such as on chemical weapons.

May it please the House! As I have already indicated, our European policy cannot be separated from our policy in relation to our neighbors, and vice-versa. First, I will pause over the dilemma of Poland between the USSR and Germany. Relations with the USSR remain the main task of our state strategy. These relations, as with all states, are today based on respect for independence and all that independence carries with it. They are characterized by partnership based on equal rights, mutual respect of interests, and respect for agreements that have been made. These relations have today been cleansed of the great ideological ballast, of the various dependencies flowing therefrom, and from satellitism.

These relations must now be goodneighborly, in accordance with the spirit of the new times. The government's attention will concentrate on the following principles: the assurance of the supply of raw materials, the regulation of the problem of indebtedness with the USSR, and the formulation of new principles for economic relations, based on freedom of trade. Furthermore, it will concentrate on political cooperation on current mutual questions, especially in association with the Polish stand regarding the confirmation of our western border by a united Germany and the participation of Poland in the six-nation talks leading to the unification of Germany. I ascertain with satisfaction full support in this matter on the part of the USSR.

Next, the solution of matters burdening mutual relations. A big step forward in this area was the recent statement by the USSR relating to Soviet responsibility for the wartime attrocities committed against Polish officers, especially for the Katyn attrocity.

And finally, care for Poles in the USSR and help in the realization of their rights as a national minority; here, too, there is progress.

A separate question is the development of seperate relations with the republics, that is separate from relations with the USSR as a whole, especially, and not only, with the neighboring republics. I have in mind the republics that voluntarily remain within the USSR. The case of secession from the Soviet Union is another category as the concept of these relations, especially in respect of gaining independence by the republics in certain matters, demands development. The difficulty is the fluidity of the whole process. Nonetheless we are working on such a concept.

The government will commence negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from our territory. A hypothetical question remains whether the temporary stationing of these forces is linked, or will be linked, to the evolution of the German problem, the construction of the European system of security, and progress in disarmament. In any case, from the perspective of time, the government regards the withdrawal of the forces as decided. At the moment we are carrying on and will be carrying on negotiations on the reduction of the forces stationed here, and also the revision of the agreement of 17 December 1956 on their legal status.

These are all very important tasks. Speaking, however, of working out our strategy in relation to the USSR, it is necessary to look differently and further than previously. Poland needs an eastern policy with a wide vision and social support, with activity in the sphere of culture and inter-human relations greater than that of today. By creating strictly European ties, especially with Western European institutions, we will not distance ourselves from the USSR, but will maintain an active policy in this direction. Enough on our eastern neighbor.

A few words on our western neighbour. This neighbor, a united Germany, is in the process of creation. For the time being there are still two German states and governments, two governments, and we continue to arrange our relations with the times, while thinking also of unification. This puts tasks of a somewhat dual nature before our German policy. It is also necessary to know where the limit of our influence lies. Unification as a return to normality, as the realization of self-determination, is a matter for the German nation. On the other hand certain consequences of unification are a matter for all of Europe as the role of a united Germany will be too important. There cannot be unity of Europe while maintaining the division of Germany. And everyone desires European unity. The unity of Germany should be accompanied by its linking into integrated structures, the development of the Helsinki process, and the abolition of the division into the poor and schizophrenic East and the rich and rational West.

German unity is to be accompanied by, generally speaking, stabilization effected in the whole continent. Thus in German unity we wish to see an important factor in stabilization, but specific consequences ensue from this. One of these is the elimination of West German doubts and insinuations relating to the Polish-German border, a border that is recognized by all of Europe, as a constituent part of the European peace order. The last parliamentary resolutions, especially the resolution of the newly chosen People's Chamber of the GDR, represent a step forward. But in order to terminate superfluous discussion on the purported openness of the border question, and not only discussion, for there also follow from Bonn's stand legal [word indistinct] and

legal consequences which reflect disadvantageously on the mutual relations of Poland and the FRG, and in order to put an end to all of this once and for all, a Polish-German treaty is necessary. Such a treaty would be composed now, in negotiations between Poland, the GDR, and FRG, initialled by these three, and next signed and ratified by Poland and a united Germany. This treaty will mean that relations between Poland and a united Gemany will have a good start, without burdens. This is important for us, for the Germans, and for Europe. We promise ourselves much from the new government in the changing GDR. The first actions of this government justify our hopes. In particular, it is exhibiting much understanding for our concern over our economic ties with the GDR and over the fate of these ties after the new imminent creation of a currency and economic union between the FRG and GDR.

The matter is exceedingly important for our foreign trade and industrial cooperation. Our relations with the FRG, after many years of torpor, have lived to see the very necessary enlivenment and great progress. This is given expression in a series of treaties signed on 10 November. Above all, however, in the mutual declaration of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, on 14 November. This last document, the declaration, covers a great number of areas in which both states will cooperate. The implementation of the decisions of the declaration so far looks good. The declaration involves so many aspects that it precisely allows us to talk of a start to very close Polish-German cooperation and mutual interests. We trust that the declaration will also remain in force after unification. As I understand, this is also the stance of the federal chancellor.

The declaration has, however, not only a political function. It is one of the tools of reconciliation after the terrible experiences of the war. Polish-German reconciliation is important for both nations, and for Europe; it is above all important in terms of moral aspects. In my view it has in great measure already taken place. Otherwise there would not exist such an intensive traffic of people in both directions, so many human contacts, so many events in the spiritual sphere, and mutual culture and civilization. The dreadful atrocities and sufferings of wartime are receding into the past, especially in the perspectives of the new, young generations.

It is necessary to remember this infamy as a great warning, but not as a source of dislike, prejudice, or even hatred. The breakthrough that came about was thanks to the brave initiatives of the church. I am thinking here especially of the Polish bishops in 1965. Their words about mutual forgiveness, which are deeply Christian, belong to the treasury of public life of today's Poland. At the time the nation did not have power in the state, so the bishops spoke for the nation. Through our dreadful experiences in the war, we well understand the suffering of those Germans who were deprived of their familial homeland and family homes, who experienced (?shame) and injustice. But now peace in minds and in hearts is what is necessary. We want to definitely close this whole chapter, on the threshold of the unification of Germany. Our proposals, which I have already recalled, are political. They have, however, a dimension that goes beyond politics. I judge that both nations and all of Europe will greet the end of Yalta with relief. [applause]

Let us return also to our dilemma—how to see the possibilities of Polish policy, that is the policy of a state that is the only one in such a position on the continent, between two giants. Here specifically, European cooperation and the perspective of a security system acquire importance of the first rank. Its construction depends on the redoubled efforts of Europeans. Just as the German problem finds its appropriate situation in the European response, so similarly the Polish position becomes secure in a European peace order with a high degree of ties and cooperation between states.

In the time of the Second Republic [between the wars], it was necessary to think in terms of the categories of alliances, the changing balance of forces, and the existence or lack of stability. European cooperation will be another world, eliminating or at least reducing antagonisms, without the preparation for aggression and annexation. We rest our hope in this world and wish to work for the creation of such a world. This is not a utopia, but the real opportunity of the present day. On us, Europeans, depends how far we exploit it; the role of Poland will be important therein.

Our southern neighbor: the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. This is a state with which we have a developed cooperation, especially economic. In recent years certain matters have arisen between us. I am thinking, for instance, the pollution of the environment and also of the limitation of personal travel. It is necessary to and possible to find solutions here. This will open for us the road to cooperation. And I see it as a wide one. The Czech and Slovak Federative Republic is, in our view, an important partner in regional accords. I will return to this theme.

I would like to say a few words separately about Lithuania. We do not keep to the sidelines of events in Lithuania. The Polish Government, immediately after the passing of the declaration of the restoration of the Lithuanian state, expressed its support for national self-determination leading to the regaining of separate statehood. A matter that is so difficult, with various interrelations and effects, should be treated with boldness and, equally, with care.

I also judge that the government was not lacking in either one or the other. The success of international and systematic changes in this part of Europe is important, whereas the prerequisite for their success is a certain stability in our region. All those interested here should act carefully so as not to damage what has already been created with such difficulty in Central and Eastern Europe, including Lithuania, and continues to be created. From the Polish Government, there was an offer

both of good service and of mediation. And this was quite some time ago. Various contacts are being maintained on the Lithuanian case. We have taken a clear stand regarding the unilateral closing of border crossing in Ogrodniki, and we are proposing to the USSR the commencement of talks on this subject. With the current state of affairs, the essence of the matter resides not in the sphere of activities and reactions of third states but in talks between Moscow and Vilnius. Economic moves, too, will not bring about a permanent solution. Various interests must be weighed. The aspirations of the Lithuanian nation should be fulfilled. [applause]

I move on to another priority of our policy, to matters of regionalism, new and old.

May it please the House! In today's discussion our attention should be concentrated on regional ties. We have, as I mentioned, two kinds of these. Accords inherited from past years, that is the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA, and also the intentions of the present day. I will start from the first of these. Poland continues to be a part of the Warsaw Pact and a member of the CEMA. We look at these ties through the prism of our European policy.

We treat the Warsaw Pact as a defensive alliance in accordance with the United Nations charter, and not as a tool of influence on the system and political and economic order of contracting states. The pact has lost its ideological role. Its functioning must be in accordance with international law. It should serve diaarmament. And it cannot slow down the unity of the continent. Among the changes in the functioning of the Pact, while it exists, indispensible from the point of view of Poland's interests, is the reshaping of its character toward a military-political one and a consultative-military one. We have left behind a military structure adapted to formerly decided operational directions in case of war. This means that the Polish Army will be used solely on Polish territory in the defense of our state against a foreign aggressor. Our Army does not have any other external tasks and will not have them. [applause]

It is also necessary to end the practice of linking the post of supreme commander of the unified forces of the Warsaw Pact with the post of deputy minister of national defense of the USSR, and [applause] rotation must be introduced in the leading and higher posts, based on the equal rights of all the participating states. [applause] We will also seek the limitation of the number of bodies and [word indistinct] devoted to matters outside the security of this part of Europe, and in any case conceived in strict association with all-European security.

Moving to the CEMA, which in any case due to its non-European members is not strictly a regional organization, I will recall that the government is taking part in talks relating to the radical reconstruction of the council.

The possibility of such reconstruction is problematic. In its present shape the CEMA is a relic of a past era and the adaptation of the council to new aims and needs will be very difficult, even more so for a new, less formal CEMA to unquestionably favor reforms and ease the introduction of member states into the world economy.

Regional economic links, on the other hand, do not need the CEMA. The matter of the reconstruction of this organization is, in fact, it [as heard].

And now, may it please the House, a few words about our policy which is directed towards new regional unions. We are interested in cooperation within the triangle: the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, Poland, and Hungary. The meeting held on 9 March in Bratislava was the first contact within this team and a review of some joint problems. It is also essential to achieve systematic and well-prepared work on the assumptions, content, and form of cooperation of these three states which have so much in common. Through Czechoslovakia and Hungary, we are interested in a southern direction, especially as we have all kinds of ties and a long tradition of cooperation with Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy—as well as a common history. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is looking into possibilities of one association or another between Poland and these five states.

On our part we are open to various ties, especially so since our geopolitical situation is, in itself, a negation of isolation. Thus, together with Sweden, we have invited Czechoslovakia to take part in the conference of Baltic states which has been planned for some time now. It is to convene in September, and it will deal with the protection of the natural environment of the Baltic Sea in a broad context. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has its own vision, and we would like farreaching cooperation. The cooperation depends, as always, on the consent of the states. Meanwhile, in the Baltic region, irrespective of the very good relations we have here, the varied nature of the coastal states is a fact and will remain so. It is enough to look at the map. Here the bilateral factor is significant again, particularly with respect to our relations with the Scandinavian states.

May it please the House!

The government attaches much significance to bilateral relations with many countries. A moment ago I was talking about the two main pillars of our policy: the European policy—relations with the neighbors—and the supplementary pillar and still under construction—regional links. But I do not lose sight of bilateral relations with many countries.

I start with West Europe, which to some extent is connected with the first priority, the European policy. The great significance of our relations with France should be pointed out. I declare with satisfaction that France supports our vital interests. The conclusions of the meeting in Paris on 8 March constitute evidence of this.

The far-reaching identity of views with Great Britain pleases us as well. I shall point out here Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit in February.

Our relations in the Mediterranean region are also significant. I mention Italy and Spain in particular.

We appreciate the convergence of views and the multitide of contacts with Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Austria.

I have already mentioned the Scandinavian countries. Close relations with Finland are also important to us.

Our relations with Switzerland have traditionally been friendly. In the last few months our relations with North America, that is with the United States and Canada, have become closer. Premier Mazowiecki's visit created a breakthrough in our relations with the U.S. superpower. Poland is regaining its rightful place in U.S. policy and it is gradually no longer a function of the superpower policy toward the USSR.

Economic cooperation with Japan is, for us, a matter of primary importance. Lately our relations with Australia and New Zealand have become closer.

What is our position toward the highly developed countries of the West and of other continents? The basic tasks are: to maintain the pace of political contacts—and this pace is considerable but it must be maintained; to ensure support for our vital interests; to create favorable conditions for the expansion of economic and financial and capital collaboration—especially for long-term solutions of the Polish debt; next, maintaining economic aid for Poland; and finally, developing unrestricted cooperation in the spheres of culture and science.

And now I would like to say a few short words about Poland's relations with other countries. Taking advantage of our guest status in the Nonaligned Movement, we will support its postulates on restructuring international relations; they are concurrent with our own stand.

One should note that between Poland and the developing countries there is no competition in receiving foreign aid. We receive credits or other forms of support, which would in any case not be directed elsewhere.

We are using the opportunities arising from the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea and oil countries from the Arabian Peninsula. I mean the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Oman. We attach much significance to our relations with the Arab world.

We will develop cooperation with Israel and Chile since the situations there have been normalized. The resumption of relations with Israel should have a positive impact on our economic and trade cooperation, both with that country and circles of the Jewish diaspora in the world. I assure you that our policy does not breach the interests of other states and nations in that region, particularly of the Palestinian nation, and our stance of supporting the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East has not changed.

A drop in trade turnover with China has been noted recently. This happened after the settling of accounts was switched to payments in hard currency. It is important to us to eliminate this negative phenomenon.

A very desirable animation of our relations with the main Latin American countries, namely with the so-called Rio Group: Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Peru, and Columbia, has occurred. In this respect a conference involving the Rio Group and the Central and Eastern European states in Budapest in April this year was extremely useful.

We will not let Africa and its various problems fade from our focus.

May it please the House!

I have already been speaking for quite a long time. Now it is time for conclusions. What contributes to and what threatens this broadly-based policy?

Our policy is supported by many factors. They are: the interests of our neighbors, the Western states, and many other states in the success of our political and economic transformations....

Furthermore, it is supported by maintaining President Mikhail Gorbachev's reformatory course in the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR. Next, the democratic transformations of the Central Eastern European states. And still another point, the considerable reduction and quite simply the disappearance of the threat of war in Europe, mainly as a result of the favorable change in the relations between the superpowers, precisely in the European region. And in conclusion, decisive progress on the path toward the unity of Europe.

These are all important matters. Let's not forget, however, the dangers, [word indistinct] difficulties are occuring in implementing the transformations in the USSR, and crisis phenomena among the superpowers have worldwide effects, without mentioning the most immediate region.

Even today Europe needs a coherent collective security system, but we are still a long way from that aim. Cooperation and its structures leave much to be desired. In place of the existing system, which we are giving up with relief, mechanisms have not been created to avoid disputes; and if one arises now, the means to effectively solve it are virtually nonexistent. And it is precisely in our part of Europe that nationalism has appeared and former frictions have been renewed, which touch not only national minorities. Fortunately Poland is not a party in this, but the phenomenon itself forms the political picture of the region to which we belong.

Thus, in all, in spite of the freedom to define our system and directions of foreign policy, we are not able to feel free of the potential dangers, both political and economic.

We will seek guarantees for our independence in a broader system of European security and in structures of multilateral and integrating cooperation. We will co-author both.

In our foreign policy, just like in our internal policy, over the last 7 months we have made far-reaching changes while maintaining significant stability. That is our main point of view—changes, fundamental changes, but at the same time stability. We will not depart from this road.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker. [applause]

Skubiszewski on 26 Apr Debates

LD2604204490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Assessment" by Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski of debates at the Sejm session on 26 April—recorded]

[Text] I can only pass judgment on what has already been said today. The discussions went in three directions, in fact not very evenly. The first one concerned foreign policy guidelines and their certain priorities. The second concerned discussion of specific issues, particularly with regard to our relations with neighbors: Germany and the USSR, and also European policy. The third one: there were several voices heard here with regard to personnel policy and personnel changes in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I can say that the greater part of the debate was good. It supplemented what I said in my speech. It elaborated on certain points and as far as today is concerned I am pleased with it.

Deputies Debate Foreign Policy

LD2604230790 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—After today's address by Foreign Minster Krzysztof Skubiszewski, one could predict an almost unequivocally positive response by all parliamentary groupings to the contents of his report on directions of the Polish foreign policy. This was put most aptly by Jozef Oleksy of the Sejm Floor Group of the Democratic Left, who said that "there is no and there will not be any political haggling in Poland" on the entirety of the borders and national security. On the one hand, implications of the unification of Germany and the consequences of centrifugal tendencies and other changes in the USSR took most time in this debate. The differences of individual options concerned the ways of pursuing foreign policy. The speaker warned against basing foreign policy on the veteran anti-communist struggle and on some nonchalance in relations with the USSR.

Also Jan Czaja of the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth pointed out to this and in his opinion Poland should not speed up the erosion of the security system in Europe as long as a new system is not built. Discussing desired rapprochement with the West, Czaja called for realistic thinking. He deemed Poland's official stand on events in Lithuania an example of such "Real-Politik."

Bronislaw Geremek of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club talked of Polish-German reconciliation as realistic prospects in the context of the community of interests. This Sejm deputy stressed with entire strength that the present foreign policy (of the Majowiecki government) was not a continuation of policy pursued by previous teams. It is at last independent and breaks away with what was for many years harmful to the Polish people and the reason of state. For the first time after World War II, there is an actual social approval for this policy.

Leslaw Lech of the Democratic Party was a debater who pointed to cadre questions at the Foreign Ministry and called for an immediate verification of the entire diplomatic and consular staff. He was echoed by one of the speakers Marian Orzechowski (now independent, formerly a Polish United Workers Party member and former foreign minister in the Jaruzelski government) in an unexpected and much sharper way. He called on Skubieszewski to "get rid of nomenklatura," that is, to take actions that he himself could not have taken.

Henryk Komar of the Polish Social-Democratic Union pointed out to the risk of Poland getting lonely ("every state strives to derive benefits from its alliances and what benefits will it get from rapprochement with Poland?"). He said that Poland was not today the most desired and attactive partner for neighbours and the West. Tadeusz Nowacki of the Christian Social Union said that the Bratislava meeting showed that Czechoslovakia, more than in Poland, took interest in the Danube-Adriatic region. He called for making efforts to achieve rapprochement with the southern neighbour.

"Economic barrier can replace the already non-existent iron curtain," said Wojciech Polak of the Polish Social-Catholic Union who also pointed to civilizational backwardness of Poland returning to Europe. The "return" was mentioned in almost every address, usually in combination with processes taking place in both German states.

Jozef Wojcik of the Pax Catholic Association called for not ignoring negative scenario of developments in unifying Germany. Leszek Czerwinski of the Floor Group of Independent Sejm Deputies demanded compensations for Poles harmed by the Third Reich and the USSR. Referring to Poland's geo-political position, Jan Lopuszanski of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club voiced hope taht "another Rappallo" would not be signed. He also said that rebuilding Poland's worthy place in the international arena depended to a great extent on "Christian cooperation" on the continent.

Discuss Report on Election Programs

LD2704090490 Warsaw PAP in English 0833 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—In tune with its decision taken yesterday evening, the Sejm (Lower House) resumed debates this morning from a Sejm committees' report on deputies' draft law permitting radio broadcasts of electoral programmes.

The law would make it possible to carry on electoral campaign to rural councils using not only the state network of radio stations but also those possessed by parties, groupings and institutions presenting candidates.

Skubiszewski on Lithuanian Problem

LD2704133190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0926 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Speech by Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live relay]

[Excerpts] The government thanks the Sejm and all the participants in the discussion for such good material added to our consideration of foreign policy, for many important and interesting speeches, also for the words of recognition for the government. [passage omitted on Skubiszewski's replies and comments on various points raised in the Sejm discussion]

A detailed issue is the matter of Lithuania. We heard here a speech by Deputy Czerwinski. On the matter of Lithuania at the moment I cannot go further than what I said in my report, for the reason that even a declaration of certain help would be incapable of implementation, and we would remain in the sphere of words. This is not God. Deputy Zielinski also said here that on the matter of Lithuania a division is taking place in our country between politics and morality. I do not see it that way. We support Lithuanian aspirations, but our means of action are as they are. And in my view we should not pretend that they are in reality greater. I am speaking of the state of affairs as it is today, for we shall see what the case is tommorrow.

Deputy Zielinski also said that mediation should be demanded. Well, I mentioned in the report that I had already offered my mediation and my good services before such suggestions had come from parliamentary circles. We are maintaining separate contacts, especially the premier, and not only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The appeal of Deputy Michnik that we should do everything to avoid a blockade because the entire development is going in a bad direction—I agree, it is going in a bad direction. The matter of the blockade is difficult because the border between us and Lithuania has been closed and all I can do at the moment is to very urgently and with great stress demand in Moscow that we begin talks with Moscow about opening the border.

There were also voices regarding the Polish minority in Lithuania—those of Deputy Dobrosz, Deputy Jurek. We are not allowing this point to be obscured in our field of view and it is being taken up by parliamentarians—for there was a delegation—but also by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I suppose, although I don't know for sure, but I suppose that I am the only minister of foreign affairs who has already met the minister of foreign affairs of Lithuania. This meeting was not publicized, although as far as I know PAP knew about it, that is, PAP knew it had taken place but nothing else, for the course of the meeting was not suitable and should not have been publicly presented—this was quite some time ago.

One of the points of this talk, deep in the depths of the agenda, towards the end of our discussion of Lithuanian affairs, was precisely my indication of various postulates relating to the Polish minority in Lithuania and the postulate for making Polish and administrative language in relation to state bodies in certain regions, and not only in the local bodies, which it seems is planned there. And, of course, the whole large sphere of [word indistinct] [passage omitted on replies and comments on other questions]

Report on Skubiszewski Address

LD2704131190 Warsaw PAP in English 1236 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—Taking the floor at the end of Sejm debates, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that he did not share fears voiced by deputies as to the rebirth of the spirit of Rapallo, a German-Russian agreement (1922). There are no such fears today since all strive to keep Germans in European frames, this being also one of the reasons for my objection to the neutrality of a united Germany, the minister stated.

Skubiszewski also informed deputies on personnel changes in Polish diplomatic-consular corps, including the recalling of 22 ambassadors representing the so-called nomenklatura. Among them will be ambassadors who were appointed relatively recently.

As for relations between Poland and Lithuania, the minister said that he could not add anything to his expose. We do not forget about an issue of the Polish minority in Lithuania, he told deputies and briefed them that he had met with the Lithuanian foreign minister to ask him to make Polish an official language in some districts.

'Polish Political Party': Havel for President

LD2604123990 Warsaw PAP in English 1134 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 26: The Polish Political Party, founded in Warsaw in May, 1989, is not typical as it does not have statutes and a list of members. It is an organization which voices its aims and views on specific issues through public presentation and demonstration.

Some time ago the party's posters featuring Vaclav Havel and a slogan "Havel for Poland's President" generated a big interest in Warsaw. Their authors, young members of the party, say that they wanted society to pay attention to the personal problem of presidency in this country. In the view of the party activists Havel, who does not depend on any Polish political forces and who does not care about internal divisions in Polish society, would be a very good symbol of a candidate for Poland's president.

The party comes out in favour of possibly quickly holding fully free parliamentary and presidential elections and also of depoliticizing and granting the state service status to law enforcement and security bodies.

The organizations stresses that youth should have more opportunities to co-decide about such important issus as the housing policy, health protection and development of culture and science.

The party's activity is coordinated by the eight-strong political council. It brings out a quarterly "MARSZ, MARSZ" (March, March).

Mazowiecki Reviews Past Year's Developments

PM2704084090 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 13-16 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki by DZIENNIK ZACHODNI reporter Lukasz Wyrzykowski on 5 April; place not given—editorial note states that interview is "unauthorized"]

[Text] [Wyrzykowski] Mr. Premier, we are talking on 5 April, on the first anniversary of the signing of the roundtable documents. The time is not conducive to celebrations now and the anniversary of this important occasion is passing almost unnoticed. Perhaps this is because we have moved on a long way from the decisions that we adopted then. There are even some who maintain that those decisions now belong to a distant past.

[Mazowiecki] Certainly over the past year there has been a considerable acceleration of historical developments throughout Europe. This applies to Poland, too, and we have probably moved much further forward in our transformations than the roundtable decisions assumed we would. All the same, we should remember that without those agreements we would not have advanced as far as we have. I would certainly not minimize the significance of this anniversary in any way: I believe it is a very important turning point in our most recent history. However, it is understandable that the decisions themselves must be constantly adjusted and corrected to keep pace with events in Poland and in Europe. Perhaps we will only be able to make a clearer-sighted assessment of the true significance of what took place on 5 April 1989 after more time has passed, from a certain distance and perspective. I myself must admit that, swamped as I am with work, I forgot about this anniversary until you reminded me of it. However, let me stress again that I attach enormous importance to the whole roundtable process, with its debates, discussions, juxtaposition of different stances, and eventual joint decisions.

[Wyrzykowski] Did you expect that after a year we would move so much further forward in transformations affecting all areas of our life than was envisaged in the roundtable decisions?

[Mazowiecki] No, I did not. But I think this progress was one of the welcome surprises of history and one which will be put on the credit side of our accounts. Doubtless many decisions were confirmed or verified by life itself, by the will of the population, which was given expression in the June elections.

[Wyrzykowski] Mr. Premier, an integral element of these transformations is the comprehensive program for economic recovery, the so-called Balcerowicz program. A confirmed majority of the members our society has acknowledged, and still acknowledges, the need for a radical reconstruction of the economy, but at the same time price trends and the introduction of the market economy are viewed with apprehension by most people. You could summarize the present period briefly as a time of hope and apprehension.

[Mazowiecki] The economic recovery program is certainly sufficiently difficult to invite many differing views and opinions. I myself should say that the program itself is not as difficult as the situation in which it is to operate. We have warned the population that such a radical restructuring of the whole economic sphere—a restructuring which must reach down to the foundations of our economic structures—will necessarily entail a high cost. This is why I must reiterate what I have already said many times, and what Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz emphasized in his latest speech: that we very much appreciate and respect the attitude demonstrated by the people who accept current developments thoughtfully, understandingly, and, in my opinion, hopefully. We never promised them easy solutions or an easy hope. We told them of the hard work and effort required. But I feel that we are already on the right path. I can only add that during our recent visit to the United States we found that Poland now enjoys much greater respect there on two counts. First, because, as a state and country, Poland is introducing changes in the most thoughtful and thorough way; and second, because it is doing it with resolute and steadfast consistency, since it would be most unfortunate now if we were—for any reason or because of any pressure—to stop suddenly in the middle of these reforms, or to attempt to introduce sudden changes or adjustments in them. This would be the worst move of all.

[Wyrzykowski] Certainly it would be difficult to charge the government in general and Minister Balcerowicz in particular with a lack of consistency; and we can see that, despite attacks from both left and right—that is, from peasants and other employee groups, among others—it is keeping steadfastly to its mapped-out course. And we

must, of course, keep in mind such factors as the heated debate on privatization of state enterprises, or Deputy Lopuszanski's parliamentary address charging the government, and particularly the Extraordinary Commission, with excessive leniency toward the former Polish United Workers Party, and so on, and so forth...

[Mazowiecki] Coexistence of different opinions is the essence of democracy. I disagree completely with Mr. Lopuszanski's opinion: I think that the Commission did its job correctly and competently and we should give it more time. The answer is not to return to the methods which applied back in 1945, when everything was being nationalized, but to act in compliance with the law. The Commission should not be charged with fantastic accusations. Most of the assets held by the former party have been returned to the public. And the fact that no one is being hounded is a sign of a certain level of political culture, to which we should all aspire. I believe that it would be a major mistake on our part to drive all our former opponents into the same positions where they once drove us.

[Wyrzykowski] You have become a symbol of evolutionary development in this peculiar revolution in which no heads rolled. You are also seen as a guarantor who will ensure that the thick line that we have drawn between past and present will remain intact. I believe that this particular kind of centrism meets with the approval of the majority of the population, but, as is the case with all majorities, this one is silent or merely silently approving. On the other hand, we hear numerous voices expressing concern at our exceedingly rapid progress, and even more numerous and more vociferous complaints from those who think that we are moving too slowly and that the other states of the former socialist community have already made greater changes, including personal changes. Which of these voices does Premier Mazowiecki fear more: those which complain of excessive speed, or those which grumble about the slow rate of change?

[Mazowiecki] I have no choice but to recognize both. I believe that we must continuously balance out the rate of change as we proceed, since our road leads, as it were, across a swollen and turbulent river of a great many difficulties.

[Wyrzykowski] In addition, a new split has arisen within the Citizens' Parliamentary Club...

[Mazowiecki] It is neither the first nor the last division. I believe that all these are perfectly natural symptoms of the emerging variety of views in a democratic system. I am not alarmed by this at all.

[Wyrzykowski] The evidence of the tremendous respect and approval extended to you by the Polish public—who agree to bear the sacrifices because they trust Mazowiecki implicitly—not only offers, of course, a boost and a great help to you, but presumably also creates an obligation and places a great stress on you.

[Mazowiecki] I often feel very embarrassed by these manifestations, because I think that such avowed public approval and trust place an exceptional obligation on me. I this sense it is indeed a considerable burden. At the same time, I believe that they express a hope which is associated not directly with my person but, rather, with an expectation that Poland will finally reach a wide and straight road to follow.

[Wyrzykowski] Mr. Premier, when some years ago the star duo of the Two Senior Gentlemen's Cabaret sang a number listing all their unfulfilled ambitions, one of their grievances was that they no longer stood a chance of becoming prime minister, but then they quickly added: "But is it really so good to be one?" What would you say to this question today?

[Mazowiecki] I would advise them to try... What else can I say? Anything that I could say would seem banal.

[Wyrzykowski] How does Mazowiecki, the journalist—as opposed to Mazowiecki, the premier—react to opinions published in the papers about yourself and the government?

[Mazowiecki] I do not read everything...

[Wyrzykowski] But when you do, do you prefer to reach for the papers which publish favorable opinions?

[Mazowiecki] No. I do not know whether it is by accident or coincidence, but on the whole I always manage to come across some misrepresentation or an instance where things are wrongly reported or misquoted. I must admit that I often get angry about this, especially if such instances are accompanied by criticism of the government's information policy, because this seems to indicate a lack of understanding about this policy: just as in our economic policy we abandoned the practice of so-called "manual control," there is no room for such practice in the government's information policy. This is a problem for individual papers and the television. The government is not empowered to dictate what they should write about or show. The government is only a partner for these media.

[Wyrzykowski] Mr. Premier, what do you think will be our mood and how far will we have progressed along our chosen road in a year's time, on the second anniversary of the signing of the roundtable agreements?

[Mazowiecki] I think that by then we will have a more normal, more stable, and more democratic system here. I hope that the transformations taking place around us in Europe will also have progressed much further, in the broad sense of the word. That is to say, I am a cautious optimist.

[Wyrzykowski] Thank you.

Discrepancies in Army Reforms Viewed

AU2504090890 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 20 Apr 90 pp 12, 13

[Witold Pasek report: "Before the Storm"]

[Excerpts] "Over seven months have passed since the elections in which we (including servicemen) gave a vote of no confidence to a particular style of government, as well as to those people who still command the Armed Forces."

"The only thing in the Armed Forces that has changed as a result of the June election is the way that things happening in the Army are being kept secret. It suffices to read directive number 42 of 22 September 1989, from the head of General Staff on how to deal with parliamentary deputies who are empowered to visit Army units, to see the hidden implications."

"In the Czarna (Pomeranian Military District) Army unit the young officers and soldiers are protesting.'

"In the Stargard Szczecinski Army unit the majority of officers, noncommissioned officers, and officer cadets refused to draw their pay up to the end of December as a sign of protest."

"These things are being hushed up."

"The officers who were members of the election commission at the General Staff Academy [ASG] and who exposed irregularities of the electoral regulations are now being discriminated against (moved to other posts, sent for "practical" training with frontline units, sent to Military Psychiatric Clinics, suffer financial sanctions, and so on.)"

"Something will finally have to be done about this." (The above are extracts from a letter written by Captain B—name and address known to the editors).

The so-called restructuring has split the military cadres. There are violent debates on the future that faces a reformed army. A substantial number of officers are claiming that the blanket terms "change of structure," or "modernization of military doctrine," hide the desperate struggle of the "officer nomenklatura" to preserve their threatened privileges.

It is easy to disband

The frequent reports of successive battalions, regiments, and divisions being disbanded (among others, the Second and Fifteenth Mechanized Divisions; the 11th, 13th, 15th, 36th, and 60th tank regiments; and the 99th anti-aircraft artillery regiment), the breaking of tanks, artillery guns, and aircraft for scrap-metal (in the years 1988-90 we lost 1,269 tanks, 925 armored personnel carriers, 1,150 artillery guns, 1,277 military vehicles, and 274 aircraft), only signify that a few more "worthy" colonels have preserved their posts, which are threatened by the reductions.

In the meantime, it is worth knowing that the Polish Army has the lowest ratio of military equipment per 10,000 soldiers compared with all Warsaw Pact member countries. For every 10,000 soldiers it has 96 tanks (Czechoslovakia has 230 and Bulgaria and Romania 187 each); 140 armored personnel carriers (the GDR has 341 and Romania 292—Denmark in comparison has 350); 88 artillery guns (Romania has 386, Bulgaria 340—Denmark and Norway have 560 each); and 14 aircraft (Bulgaria has 20, Romania 18—Denmark and Great Britain have 32 and 27 respectively). Despite these figures we continue to scale down our forces.

The Army is being "restructured" for two fundamental reasons. First, the lack of money and second, to shorten the time of compulsory military service. In order to achieve this one does not have to disband units. It suffices to mothball the equipment and retain some of the front line cadres. Adopting such measures would permit us in time of need to reconstitute the combat effectiveness of these units.

There would thus be no need to frighten society with the "military potential of a reunited Germany" and no need to retain Soviet units on Polish territory.

But the simple truth is that we do not have the money to maintain even such skeleton formations.

The Bottomless Pit

What then, is the money being spent on? Let us recall that for the current year parliament has voted 11,121,600,000,000 zlotys for defense.

According to official figures released by the Ministry of Defense, "maintaining the present manpower levels" swallows up 61.5 percent of the defense budget. Only some 22.5 percent is destined for the purchase of arms and military equipment. This barely allows us to maintain the present status quo and there can be no talk of any "modernization" whatsoever.

Infusing combat units with the latest military techniques can only partly explain the "command level overmanning" (at present we have double the number of generals—544 posts—commodores, and colonels that we had before the war).

The young officer cadres are leaving the Armed Forces. Behind them they leave the "worthies," that is, all those who managed to secure posts in various central military institutions, for example, the Inspectorate of the Polish Armed Forces, the Main Education Board, the Main Board of Military Training, the Main Inspectorate of Civil Defense, the Board for Army Training, and so on.

It is not simply a question of positions, decorations, or of participation in "significant policy-making." It is more about common things like securing more office staff,

additional financial supplements, use of "special" recreation centers, limousines, and access to Military Trade Center shops which stock goods that are only available to "leadership cadres."

Where To Look for the "Overstaffing"?

In the U.S. military academy at West Point there are 12 students for every instructor. At the U.S. National Defense University there are 6.3 students to every instructor. At the Bundeswehr Command Academy there are 5.1 students per instructor. Last year at the ASG of the Polish Armed Forces there were two instructors for every student! This information comes from the various details released by the ASG chief of finances during one of the Sejm committee sessions, namely, that there were 0.48 students for every instructor. Since then, an additional department has been created, a special department not provided for in the budget. An ASG censorship post (again, not provided for in the budget) has also been created, and the main office has been expanded.

What To Disband and What To Reorganize?

The Main Political Board was hurriedly renamed the Main Education Board and was recently renamed again. It is now called the Education Department, but the staff (5,300 officers of the education branch—with the current Army numbers of 300,000 this gives a ratio of one "political supervisor" to 55 soldiers) has remained the same. Obviously, somebody does not realize that in order to be an education officer one needs something more than a set of evening courses in Marxism-Leninism.

In the meantime, Tadeusz Szacilo, former head of the Main Political Board, general of arms and doctor (his doctorate is on the theme "The party organization as the guarantor of educational success in the Polish Peoples Army"), during martial law the deputy chief of the Main Political Board for propaganda matters (responsibility for the propaganda war against "Solidarity"), has "jumped" sideways into the post of director of the Military Institute of History where no doubt he will devote his time to explaining various "blank spots" which he in his time helped to create. The Military Political Academy named after the much lamented Feliks Dzierzynski was ceremonially dissolved and reincorporated as a department of the National Defense Academy (this is the new name proposed for the ASG). However, the staff will be the same.

Here are excerpts from another letter signed by "a careful observer from the ASG" ("my name and address are only for the editors, because I am well acquainted with the innumerable opportunities and the long experience of the directors of the Academy in silencing insubordinates.") "There are just a few months left before the start of the new academic year at the National Defense Academy and it is still not known who will teach, who will be taught, and what will be taught. This became evident at the last, 5 January, meeting of the direction of the ASG (average age 65 years) that has the task of organizing the work of the new institution. Among military academic circles there is the conviction that the Ministry of Defense leadership (who only succeed in bringing discredit on the Army), as well as the leadership of the ASG are simply not up to the task.

"People with genuine academic qualifications and substantial teaching experience are being discarded, while the 'worthies' and especially the 'loyal' people are being retained. This last category has not done anything useful in the last 45 years." [passage omitted]

Another example comes from the Department of Land Forces at the ASG. The timetable for the graduate class due to graduate in 1992 allocates 84 hours to the study of general tactics and operational command. However, 118 hours are allocated to the study of scientific communism, political information, party-political work, and political economy. All this in 1990! [passage omitted]

What About the Former Party?

On 2 February 1990, during the meeting of the Ministry of Defense Military Council the decision to depoliticize the Army was made. One, two, three, and as if by magic we suddenly had an Army which was free from party ties.

A large section of the officer corps received this news with a sigh of relief. The principle "if you do not join, you do not advance" was no longer applicable. But let us not deceive ourselves. Not all the officers who joined the party were motivated solely by cold calculation. A large section, a section that now occupies very high positions and exerts a good deal of influence on the ministry is composed of ultra-left maniacs who are imbued with a hatred for anything new and, until recently, "oppositionist." These very people are rebelling against the fact that power has been surrendered without a struggle to those whom they describe as "the paid agents of the CIA and traitors of the fatherland." That is how ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI (recently renamed ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ; note that the change of name occurred on 1 April) described today's Sejm deputies and senators (it is worth remembering that until today the "Daily Paper of the Polish Army" has not made a public apology).

It is not enough to strip the "red colonels" of their party membership cards, they must also be stripped of their power because one fine day another bit of magic could occur and another decision of the Ministry of Defense Military Council could politicize the Army once again. One morning, instead of the scheduled television program, the face of a grim Army spokesman could appear on the screen.

Are Changes Likely To Occur?

Army morale is very low. Many officers have submitted their request to leave active service or intend to do so in the very near future. The people who are at the head of this exodus most often have academic qualifications gained on the "outside," namely, engineers, doctors,

technicians, and so on. The young officer cadre is leaving. They are often the most dynamic people, the most recent graduates of the elite officer schools. The reasons that they most frequently give are that they are unable to adequately maintain their families on the salary of a lieutenant or captain (there is a great difference between the pay scales for officers of lower and for officers of higher rank and this disparity is further emphasized by various supplementary payments), difficulties of keeping oneself in a state of "transfer readiness" (most families already have several house moves behind them and some families have several dozen such moves), and general family difficulties.

The career open to a professional soldier has ceased to be attractive (the "attractions" start from the rank of brigadier upward). Army salaries have lost their appeal, so has the possibility of obtaining garrison housing (largely illusory anyway), as well as other benefits such as cheap travel, military shops, and so on.

The deterring factor is the requirement to devote one's life to the service, to remain at the constant beck and call of somebody else, and the burden of responsibility for oneself and for one's subordinates. What deters people is the knowledge of being "different," the social suspicion (despite the high ratings of stated social confidence), and the conviction that in the armed services nothing is likely to change.

Without resolute intervention from the outside (the Sejm, for example) this view will prevail. At present, there are too many people who are interested in preserving the military status quo. The forces of the "reformers" (or "rebels" depending on the point of view) are too widely dispersed.

Breakup of Publishing Monopoly Continues

AU2704080590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Anna Bikont report: "The Harmonious Dismembering of a Giant"]

[Text] The Commission for the Abolition of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] has dismissed Ryszard Lukasiewicz, editor in chief of EXPRESS. In January, the EXPRESS board of editors had entered a vote of no confidence in their boss, who became editor in chief during the martial law period, after he had served as a director of a Central Committee department. The staff of EXPRESS heard the news of his dismissal from PAP! "This is what we will do whenever a majority of newspaper staffers enters a vote of no confidence in their boss," said Andrzej Notkowski, the Commission's press spokesman. "We have another two cases like this to consider."

On 23 April, the Commission reached an agreement with a delegation from the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic about preliminary conditions for selling off a part of the publishing house that prints TRYBUNA. The Council of Ministers is to reach the final decision.

The Commission decided to close down four press titles that have no hope of improving their financial situation. They are: NA PRZELAJ, SPORTOWIEC, ITD, and ZARZEWIE. A few more titles are to disappear by the end of April.

A concept whereby the RSW's distribution operation would be taken over by a private company in which RSW employees and any interested publishers might hold shares, was communicated to the Commission by representatives from ten Warsaw press titles, including POLITYKA, TRYBUNA, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, and GAZETA WYBORCZA. This part of the RSW giant cannot be decentralized, otherwise small towns and villages would no longer receive any papers. The concept was worked out by Ernest Skalski, deputy editor in chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA; Stanislaw Chelstowski, editor in chief of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE; and Jacek Poprzeczko, deputy editor in chief of POLITYKA.

I asked Mr. Notkowski on behalf of GAZETA WYBORCZA whether it was difficult for the Commission to reach joint decisions because of the presence in it of editors in chief of all kinds of press titles—party titles, independent titles, and Catholic titles—the result of a political compromise. By way of reply, he gave the results of a vote on the subject of closing down TRYBUNA. In five points, everyone had voted in favor; and in one point, one person had voted against.

Agricultural Official on Food Production

AU2704075990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Apr 90 p 2

['kana'-signed report: "No Disaster, But Nothing To Be Optimistic About"]

[Text] "Gloomy opinions have not been confirmed, but neither is there any cause for undue optimism," said Vice Agriculture Minister Henryk Antoniewicz at a news conference on Monday [23 April]. He was reporting the results of a livestock census.

The number of cattle and pigs in private farms has increased since the final quarter of 1989, but the number of cattle and pigs in state farms has fallen. The cattle population continues to be at the same level as in autumn 1989, but the Agriculture Ministry foresees a fall in meat production by about 10 percent. The pig population is at the same level as it was in the first quarter of 1989. The ministry believes that the considerable increase in the number of piglets can be attributed to the pro-market orientation of the food economy last August. Higher prices of livestock and a better relationship between the prices of livestock and animal feed have made farmers more interested in breeding.

The Agriculture Ministry is trying to win from the Finance Ministry about 40 million zlotys for the purchase of potato flour, in order to alleviate the situation on the potato market. It is also conducting talks with other countries, even via diplomatic channels, on the subject of exports, but with no particular success so far. The ministry believes that 25 percent of potato stocks will be exported or purchased by the government in order to provide emergency supplies.

There are still difficulties with making use of the butter surplus, although the situation is improving. Some 11,000 tonnes of butter have been exported so far, and May contracts call for the export of 12,000 tonnes.

The Agricultural Market Agency has enough funds to buy 250,000 tonnes of grain, claims Vice Minister Michal Wojtczak. That is the country's monthly consumption figure. Right now the Agency is setting up branches, together with an Information Center. The Agency will employ 120 people, including 40 at its Warsaw head office. It will have branch offices in Gdansk, Katowice, Lublin, and Poznan.

Mazowiecki Receives Czech Premier Pithart

LD2604143990 Warsaw PAP in English 1235 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received today head of the Czech State Government Petr Pithart, now on a working visit to Poland.

The meeting was attended by head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, Minister Jacek Ambroziak.

Leaders Discuss Ecology Issues

LD2604204790 Prague CTK in English 1645 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw April 26 (CTK correspondent)—Poland's interest in joint solution of ecological problems with Czechoslovakia, and in the quick renovation of mutual free movement in border areas was stressed by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at his talks with Czech Premier Petr Pithart here today.

He pointed out Poland's readiness to take part in stricter customs checks and other measures to fight excessive goods purchases and weakening the two countries' home markets.

Petr Pithart, who arrived here today for a three-day working visit to Poland, stressed the need for developing cooperation in environmental protection.

Speaking about renovation of free tourism along the borders, he said that it should be realized gradually so that Czechoslovakia's home market be protected.

The two premiers paid great attention to the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of five Warsaw Treaty countries, including Poland, in August 1968 which crushed the revival process in Czechoslovakia.

Petr Pithart asked Tadeusz Mazowiecki to open Polish archives so that the names of those Czechoslovak citizens who asked Poland for "internationalist assistance" in 1968 can be found out. The request was accepted with understanding.

Jaruzelski Meets Jewish Representatives

LD2604231690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has met representatives of the Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations in Poland, the Polish-Jewish Society, and the Organization of Poles victimized by the Third Reich. The talks stressed that the few Polish Jews who managed to avoid extermination and who did not emigrate from the homeland did not receive any compensation from the FRG. The president's interlocutors maintained that compensation for the victims of the Third Reich could not be passed over during talks concerning the unification of Germany

Jaruzelski at Meeting on Katyn Documents

LD2504111190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] A meeting between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and representatives of various social circles, concerning the Katyn documentation, is in progress at the Belweder Palace. Greeting those present, the president said that the meeting should bring an answer to the question of how to make use of the Katyn documentation, handed on by the president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, and where to keep these documents. Wojciech Jaruzelski disclosed that he had received an assurance from Gorbachev concerning the goodwill of the Soviet side in the further search for documents in Soviet archives, and in the search for the graves of officers held at Starobelsk and Ostashkov. The question of responsibility for the crime still remains. Taking part in the meeting are, among others, the assistant secretary to the Polish Episcopate, Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski, Polish Academy of Sciences Chairman Aleksander Gieysztor, and Jedrej Tucholski of the Independent Commission for Studying the Katyn Crime.

Polish, Soviet Historians Discuss Katyn

LD2604224890 Warsaw PAP in English 2151 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 26—Polish and Soviet historians wound up here today debates of the two-day "round table" devoted to the Katyn crime.

One of the participants in the meeting, member of the Polish independent committee of historians dealing with the Katyn crime, Professor Jacek Trznadel, presented during a meeting with representatives of Soviet Society

at the Centre of Polish Culture here the committee's stance on the TASS communique which admitted the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] responsibility for the Katyn murder.

The statement which recognized the crucial significance of the TASS communique stressed that it put the responsibility only on the NKVD and its leadership and not on the entire totalitarian system and its leaders, and that it did not name the place of the murder and the place of the burial of Polish officers.

The communique does not say anything about the place of the burial of Polish officers from Starobielsk and Ostaszkow and about the international aftermath of the crime, including mainly the breaking off relations by the Soviet Union with the legal London government. The TASS communique does not say what steps the USSR intends to take towards the perpetrators of the crime. This diminishes the significance of the statement, Trznadel said.

We Poles would expect President Gorbachev to go to the Katyn forest and kneel there like Willy Brandt did at the monument to the victims of the Warsaw ghetto. It would be a great gesture which would increase his prestige, Professor Trznadel concluded.

Demonstrations in Bucharest Continue

Said Peaceful

AU2604184090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] The demonstration which began last Sunday, 22 April, is continuing in Bucharest's University Square. Several hundred people of all ages belonging to various political and apolitical organizations are present in the square.

The demonstration is proceeding peacefully. The following slogans are chanted: "Down with Iliescu," "We will not leave here until we gain freedom," "Freedom and [words indistinct]," "We have been called thugs for 45 years," and "Down with Chitac."

Leaders and representatives of several organizations addressed the crowd from the balcony of the Geography Faculty. Those present in the University Square also demand that Point 8 of the Timisoara declaration should be included in the Electoral Law. A rally was called for tomorrow, with the participation of those supporting the ideals of justice and freedom. The demonstrators claim that the NSF-sponsored rally scheduled for tomorrow would be a reply to the rally in the University Square.

Traffic is still blocked along Magheru Boulevard at the intersection with 13 December Street and University Square.

Leaflets are being distributed in the square.

Rival Demonstration Planned

AU2704114290 Paris AFP in English 1021 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Bernard Estrade report]

[Text] Bucharest, April 27 (AFP)—The spectre of conflict in the streets loomed here Friday as Romania's interim leaders, undermined by a marathon demonstration for their resignations, called a rival election rally.

Up to 5,000 antigovernment protesters gathered in central Bucharest's University Square for their sixth straight day of protest, after about 1,000 spent the night blocking one of the main thoroughfare's, Balcescu Boulvard. It was the largest number to have spent the night on the streets since several hundred students occupied the square on Sunday, ahead of the first free elections since World War II, scheduled for May 20.

A crowd estimated at up to 15,000 had rallied in central downtown Bucharest Thursday, the biggest antigovernment gathering since the December uprising which toppled the Ceausescu regime.

The official ROMPRES news agency reported "more than 10,000 protestors", who are demanding the removal of ex-communists who are running the government, including interim president Ion Iliescu.

A group of influential intellectuals, the Group for Social Dialogue, has called for the opening of talks between the government and protestors.

The National Salvation Front, which took power last December, has called an election meeting for Friday afternoon in another Bucharest Square, about three kilometers (1.5 miles) away. The turnout will undoubtedly be compared with the strength of the anticommunist protests as an indicator of public support.

The Front's call for a meeting, along with an "appeal to militants to keep calm, was reported widely by radio and television.

Overnight, ROMPRES issued a communique signed by "the league of miners' unions of Jiu valley" which criticised the demonstrations being held here.

The miners, who came here from their central town in February in support of the Front, also criticised the interim government for "not applying the law on the organisation and conduct of gatherings". The leadership tightened laws on public gatherings in January, banning them from being held near railways, hospitals, airports and strategic military and economic locations.

The miners' communique also recalled the events of January 29—when thousands of protesters blocked the city streets before sacking the offices of the National Peasants Party and events of February 19, when the miners came. Between 2,000 and 3,000 miners, brought from Jiu by special trains, gathered in central Bucharest to voice their support for the regime and to denounce the opposition. Several people were picked on by the miners and beaten up.

The Front's meeting comes as the latest protest movement is beginning to organise itself, and to spread outside the capital.

An opposition meeting is scheduled Saturday in the western town of Timisoara, scene of the initial protests in December which triggered the uprising, aiming to form "a national alliance for the anticommunist struggle".

Representatives of several dozen associations and movements from throughout Romania are expected to attend the rally, the organisers hope.

Observers here added that new trade unions have been recently formed, particularly in the Bucharest region, and are critical of unions set up immediately after the uprising, saying that they are run by communist cadres of the former regime.

Media Reaction to Bucharest Demonstrations

AU2604193890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Stands on Bucharest Demonstrations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—The demonstrations of the last few days in Bucharest have triggered various reactions from Bucharest dailies, from other publications, political groups and trade unions, etc.

In the opinion of "ADEVARUL" paper of 26 April "the number of votes are a safer, more democratic, more dignified criterion than the number of decibels of a demonstration of protest. Violence polarizes fear not real options," the paper assesses.

What is happening now in Bucharest is just another attempt "at forcibly eliminating Mr. Ion Iliescu from the political life and diminishing the NSF's [National Salvation Front's] chances in the elections," reads "AZI" daily, organ of that political movement.

Other newspapers, like "DIMINEATA" and "LIBERTATEA" also take stands against those demonstrations urging to calm and reason.

"DREPTATEA," organ of the NPP-CD [NP(CD)P] [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party], runs several articles and notes, as well as a statement of that party which notes "with stupefaction the aggressive attitude of the authorities against demonstrators who, for several days, have peacefully, but firmly demonstrated against the dictatorial neocommunist character adopted by the state leadership."

"ROMANIA LIBERA" daily assesses that "a new revolution has been proclaimed in Bucharest."

Statements sent to ROMPRES by trade union organizations, candidates for parliament of various parties as well as by independent candidates denounce the demonstrations in Bucharest assessing that they are organized by people who do not want an authentic democracy in Romania.

* Proclamation of National Salvation Front

90BA0059B Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 11 Apr 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Proclamation of the National Salvation Front to the Nation"]

[Text] Born at the same time as the Revolution, the National Salvation Front [NSF] emerged as the political movement of a broad social spectrum whose objective is the profound reorganization and rejuvenation of Romanian society. It proposes achieving a pluralistic and democratic political system, a modern and efficient economy, and the rebirth of the national culture. A complete and irrevocable break with the communist system and its ideology is one of the essential conditions for attaining those objectives.

The Front's ideology is rooted in reality and in the concrete social process of democratization of the Romanian society launched by the Revolution. The basic source of its ideology and actions is in essential needs and basic human rights, and in the common interests of all Romania's citizens. The NSF is a center-left movement which appeals to all those who use their minds and hands to ensure the country's progress; this orientation brings it close to the values and objectives of European social democracy.

The directions for building a modern and prosperous society open to the future, which the Front proposes to the Romanian people, include the following basic programs:

Program for Democratizing the State and Public Life

In this area, the NSF is in favor of:

—Pluralistic political options, opinions, and beliefs;
—Establishment of free political parties and trade unions;
—Extensive promotion and full protection of basic human rights and liberties, including undiscriminatory and unprivileged observance of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities;
—Laying the foundation for a state based on justice and social equity and on the separation of powers, in which political leaders will be elected for one, at most two, terms;
—Restoring the natural status and consolidating the prestige of the Romanian Army.

Economic Program

In this area, the NSF proposes:

—A transition from the current system of centralized planning to a liberalized and decentralized system based on a market economy, in conditions capable of ensuring the country's political and social stability;
—Expanding and diversifying the presence of the private sector in the national economy;
—Preserving state ownership of major enterprises in areas of national interest;
—Encouraging foreign investments while protecting the national market and especially the labor market;
—Restoring individual farms by giving land in ownership to peasants in accordance with their capacity to cultivate it and legally restricting opportunities for amassing excessive land or speculations with land;
—Assisting agricultural associations and cooperatives, as free organizations of producers with decision-making powers without any administrative interference;
—Continuing the activities of profitable state agricultural enterprises;
—Abolishing the state monopoly on foreign trade;
—Avoiding the accumulation of heavy foreign debts.

Social Program

In this area, the NSF is in favor of:

—Improving the supply of the population with foodstuffs, clothes, and consumer goods, and diversifing consumer services;
—Providing sufficient household power, fuel, and hot water;
—Ensuring more housing;
—Guaranteeing minimum incomes;
—Introducing the 40-hour work week;
—Unemployment pay equal to the guaranteed minimum income;
—Reorganizing the social welfare system—in particular, expanding social assistance for children, physically and mentally handicapped persons, and old people;
—Free medical services and modernizing medical institutions;
—Eliminating hard working conditions for women and diversifying services designed to reduce the amount of effort and time that women put into household work;
—Improving the network of nurseries and kindergardens;
—Protecting young families;
—Eliminating the paternalistic practices used to organize the free time of the youth.

Program for the Modernization of Schools and the Rebirth of Science and Culture

In this area, the NSF proposes:

—Undiscriminatory and free access to all institutes of learning;
—Spotting and nurturing talents by granting scholarships locally and abroad;
—A coherent national system of educational and professional guidance;
—Autonomy for universities;
—Adopting a new education law;
—[Words indistinct] of teaching staff and researchers;
—Making computerized services available to the society by developing and utilizing microelectronics, data processing, automation, and communications;
—Circulating our national cultural assets in the world;
—Expanding contacts with international culture;
—Ensuring creative autonomy and granting state subsidies for culture.

Romanians:

The NSF calls upon you to make a joint effort to participate in the only viable alternative for building a modern society open to the 21st century and capable of restoring Romania to its place in modern history.

The Front calls on workers and peasants, the creative intelligentsia in economic, technical, humanistic, and artistic areas—the new generation—the trade unions, youth and women's organizations, and Romanian exiles to join in an open and broad dialogue and in constructive actions aimed at achieving a society firmly rooted in the values and ideals of the December Revolution.

Iliescu Denies NSF Wants To 'Monopolize' Power

AU2604200190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1827 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—On Thursday, Mr. Ion Iliescu, the NSF [National Salvation Front] candidate to the country's presidency, was the guest of the town of Botosani, in northern Moldavia, where he met with the people working in two enterprises and with the members of the local PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council]. He also participated in an electoral meeting.

In the speeches made on the occasion, Mr. Ion Iliescu presented at length the country's economic and political situation characterized by great difficulties and tensions, the efforts the government made to remove the negative effects of those difficulties as well as the Front's programme of governing. In that context, he underlined that the December revolution—a great one which destroyed the old structures of the dictatorship—had to be continued by deepening the process of democratization of the political and socioeconomic life, by decentralizing the economy and stimulating individual initiative, by creating a market economy leading to efficient productive units. The NSF candidate to presidency declared for the reorientation of industry on profitable bases and admitted that many units were not efficient. Showing that the following two years will be a difficult period when inflationist and unemployment phenomena accentuate, Mr. Iliescu showed that the NSF stipulated measures to limit those effects.

The NSF candidate appealed to all political forces to collaborate in order that the country's stability be maintained, for a climate apt to ensure the normal unfolding of the election campaign.

In conclusion, he rejected the charges according to which the NSF intended to monopolize the power, saying that the Front was open for any collaboration with well intentioned political groups.

Protest Against Ex-CP Activists in Elections

AU2604192590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Apr 90 p 2

["Protest" issued by the Free Romania Democratic Group, an organization set up in Brasov in 1987, against the decision to allow former Communist activists to run in elections; place and date not given]

[Text]

Protest

Lies, falsehoods, and terror were the tools used by the Romanian communists to take over the country and

maintain state power for 42 years; the nomenklatura was the beneficiary of feudal exploitation to which all Romanian people were subjected.

Let us not forget the executions, exterminations, the more or less forced deportations and banishments practiced en masse by the communist regime, and the forced deprivation of the Romanian peasant of his land.

Let us not forget the violation of the Romanian spirit, the fettering of our conscience and speech, and the taking away of faith and hope from the people.

Let us not forget that by constantly confiscating the Romanian citizen's assets, the state has created a monopolist economy with feudal-type relations.

Let us not forget the chauvinistic nature of the national policy.

Let us not forget that the Ceausescu clique was only an exponent of communist structures, structures which could not have emerged without a totally repressive apparatus. Of course, there have been intensive power struggles within this structure, something which has created a false communist dissidence, but these cases do not represent the root cause of the Romanian problem, nor the reason for the popular revolution.

Let us not forget that, through its repressive structure, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], as a corporate body, is guilty of genocide and the ruin of the national economy.

Therefore, we protest against the decision adopted by the Provisional National Unity Council, which, through the adopted the Electoral Law, permits the electoral participation of candidates from the ranks of the former repressive apparatus (RCP activists and Securitate members).

We demand that Point 8 of the Timisoara declaration should be introduced as an amendment to the Electoral Law.

The 'Free Romania' Democratic Group

Iliescu Criticized on RCP Member Numbers

AU2604131790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 19 Apr 90 p 3

[S. Alexandrescu article: "To Profit and To Survive"]

[Text] Mr. Ion Iliescu provides us with figures which reveal that the Romanians have been the most communist nation in the world. Taking into consideration the 3.8 million Communists, a number which he easily rounds off to 4 million, and which he then doubles in order to include family members—that is 8 million—and to which he then adds the 3 million members of the Union of Communist Youth, the number of 11 million is thus quickly reached. This means half of our people. If we exclude under-age children from this total number, the result is that all of us have been Communists.

Mr. Iliescu does not distinguish between Communists and RCP [Romanian Communist Party] or UTC [Union of Communist Youth] members.

If he did so, he would have to deduct more than 3.9 million from the 4 million, because the former are people, who were forced to become RCP members to keep their job, to be able to pursue their profession, and to be able to advance in the professional or social hierarchy. He, as a former militant, knows very well how the recruiting of RCP members was done. He is very well aware that, in order to become no more than the head of a team or group in a unit, one had to be party member. He knows this, as he very well knows that among all those party members, the great majority did not believe in the communist dogmas. In our view, for many years not even the nomenklatura or the 1,000-2,000 front-ranking activists, whom he now tries to spare responsibility by including them within the 4 million, believed in communism any more.

The few pretended to believe in communism in order to preserve and consolidate their small economic interests, while the mass, the many, pretended to believe in it in order to survive.

Now, during the election campaign, it has to be very clear to us that the National Salvation Front and Mr. Iliescu—in the name of the 1,000-2,000 top officials of the nomenklatura, and in order to save their interests—are ready to snatch from the Romanian people the only chance offered by the revolution to free themselves from communism.

Our hope is that the Romanians will prove that they are at least as wise as some of their neighbors. For, as you see, in Hungary the former Communist Party, although it has changed its name, as in fact it has in our country, only under less bloody circumstances, has achieved less than 10 percent of the Parliament seats.

From a political viewpoint, Hungary has stepped into the post-communist era with its right foot [Romanian belief of good omen].

Will Romania fail to use this chance only to preserve the interests of a limited group of former RCP leaders?

Iliescu's Working Visits Criticized

AU2604155790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] Mr. Ion Iliescu is paying working visits to various localities throughout the country.

We are asking ourselves, just like many others: Who is paying for the interruption of production in the enterprises visited by him during peak hours on working days?

Very little has changed in our country!

Potential Candidate Criticizes Iliescu

AU2604191490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1757 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Election Campaign: Mrs. Olga Cristescu's Protest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—Mrs. Olga Cristescu, manager of an enterprise, who announced her intention to candidate independently for the country's presidency, protests against what she calls "an obvious trial to directly obstruct the electoral competition" through "the forced closing of the list of candidates with a month before the May 20 elections" which represents "a violation of the norms of political ethics."

A communique released by Mrs. Olga Cristescu's press bureau shows that "she had asked in due time that the term for the registration of the candidatures be extended" by addressing an open letter to the president of the Provisional National Union Council, Ion Iliescu, whom she accuses of not having fulfilled "his obligation to submit this question for debate" at the recent session on April 24 of that organism.

At the same time, Mrs. Olga Cristescu "asks the political groups" represented in miniparliament that at the next session "they should protest in plenum against the procedure to ignore the letters of national interest."

We remind that the provisional legislative forum had decided to extend the term for the registration of candidatures to presidency until April 22, shortening thus the term for contesting them. Until that time only three candidates to presidency were registered who had the written adhesion of at least 100,000 supporters.

Ion Ratiu's Biography Published

AU2604143090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 19 Apr 90 p 3

[Unattibuted report: "Ion Ratiu biography"]

[Text] Ion Ratiu comes from a family that has given the Romanian people politicians, diplomats, church dignitaries, and scholars. All of them were fighters for freedom and democracy.

As the great-grandson of the well-known Ioan Ratiu, the Transylvanian [1892] Memorandum initiator, Ion Ratiu was born in Turda in 1917.

In September 1940 he was politically exiled, that is when General Antonescu turned the country into an ally of Nazi Germany with the help of the "Iron Guard."

All his life he has held Romanian citizenship. He studied law and economic sciences at the universities in Cluj and Cambridge and also did his doctor's degree in political science.

From 1965-1985 he held the position of president of the Cultural Association of Romania in England—"ACARDA."

He is one of the founders of the well-known organization for the protection of "prisoners of conscience," Amnesty International.

He is a founding member and president of the World Union of Free Romanians since it was founded in 1984.

Disseminating— through his books "Moscow Defies the World," 1963; "Romania of Today," 1975; and "A Policy for the West," 1957—original ideas, he became known throughout the world as one of the great political writers and as a consistent author of Romanian political books, thus increasing Romania's prestige.

His clearsightedness has been a model of profound analysis for specialized critics in the West. Ion Ratiu's political thinking is not only characterized by clarity and precision, but it also foresees what will happen.

His political activity and constant struggle for human rights, freedom, and democracy in Romania, and his qualities as a diplomat and capable businessman have earned him positive evaluation throughout the political world, thus getting attention in the parliaments and governments in the West, in the Parliament and Council of Europe, and in the U.S. Congress.

Ion Ratiu has his own resources that make him independent of any kind of political or economic influence at home or abroad. He has come to this country to invest all his excellence in this country and not to profit from it. Ion Ratiu has returned from his exile only to continue to struggle "For Freedom and Democracy in Romania."

As a member of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party, he believes in social justice and Christian morals.

His great intellectual qualities of political fighter and businessman make Ion Ratiu the most dignified and entitled candidate to the presidency of the Romanian state.

He firmly believes that, by serving the country, he will take it to: prosperity, freedom, and genuine democracy of the Romanian people, that is, to the future of Romania.

International Human Rights Group Visits

AU2504201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 25 Apr 90

["Visit by International Human Rights Law Group"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—Visiting members of the international human rights law group, headquartered in Washington, D.C., met on Wednesday with Romanian and foreign journalists.

On the occasion they voiced opinions about the electoral process in Romania. According to the members of the law group, "the electoral process is generally proceeding in accordance with the terms of the electoral law. The electoral commission is generally perceived as not being biased. Political parties have secured facilities and are campaigning throughout Romania. The electoral process is so far proceeding generally, though by no means entirely, in a peaceful manner, and we have not detected the existence of a centralized system of intimidation," one of the guests showed.

The members of the group made several recommendations as concerns the future course of the electoral process, among which the need that the authorities, the government should ensure free transportation for all candidates as well as more newsprint and press facilities. They also recommended "that all parties adopt a mutual declaration pledging themselves against the use of any tactics of violence, harassment and intimidation against one another."

Questions asked by journalists were then answered.

Electoral Campaign Assessed

AU2604200090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Electoral Process in Romania Seen by American Experts"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—"Since the overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship, a profound and dramatic change is taking place in Romania," reads the statement of the delegation of the International Human Rights Law Group, led by Claudio Grossman, professor of law, American University, who visited Romania recently. He said in context that "considerable opportunities exist today for the organization and expression of different political views by individuals, parties and movements." "The electoral process is generally proceeding in accordance with the electoral law. The electoral commission is generally perceived as not being biased." "Political parties have secured facilities and are campaigning throughout Romania. Considerable political activity is taking place, including demonstrations, open debate and different forms of publicity. The electoral process is so far proceeding generally, though by no means entirely, in a peaceful manner, and we have not detected the existence of a centralized pattern of intimidation." "Numerous newspapers and other publications have been created at both the national and the local levels. We found that the written media are expressing a rich and pluralistic variety of opinions, and are free from censorship. Parties are provided increasing access to television and radio. Further access has been provided for the newly qualified presidential candidates."

We found that in Romanian society there still exists an atmosphere of suspicion, mistrust and concern for the future, as the country embarks on a process of democratic transition after five decades of dictatorship. In such an environment, numerous allegations concerning the integrity of the electoral process were presented to our delegation," the American expert specifies. The Law Group "extends its appreciation to the Government and the people of Romania for their singular cooperation and assistance during the course of our visit. We join the Romanian people in the profound hope that the forthcoming elections will result in a free, democratic and prosperous Romania," the statement reads in conclusion.

906 Polling Stations Set Up in Bucharest

AU2504092190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0818 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/4/1990—Bucharest city, the capital, is Romania's largest constituency with an estimate electorate of 1,600,000. The city hall, says Mayor Dan Predescu, has organized 906 voting stations, a public and press relations office and it supplies the parties with poster boards. The first organizational steps have already cost the city hall 21 million lei and another 16 million lei are expected to be spent.

Ratiu Condemns Ceausescu Execution Without Trial

AU2704081690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0550 GMT 27 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—Mr. Ratiu's News Conference]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/4/1990—On Thursday [27 April], Mr. Ion Ratiu, the candidate for Romania's presidency of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [NP(CD)P], met in Bucharest with Romanian journalists and Foreign press correspodents.

On the occasion, he specified that a meeting of the Council of the European Economic Community would be held in May to decide on the distribution and granting of substantial funds for the former communist countries, Romania included.

In that context Mr. Ratiu stated: the European Economic Community will grant funds to Romania requesting the meeting of five conditions the application of the country's laws, the observance of human rights, the oganization and unfolding of free and fair elections, a fast transition to the free market economy, and the ensurance

of a multiparty system. Except the last condition imposed by the EEC, the other four are not met yet in Romania.

Enlarging upon the conditions imposed by the EEC, Mr. Ratiu opined that the current regime in Romania made a bad start, condemning and executing the former dictator without a trial in keeping with the humanitarian principles applied today in all democratic countries. Likewise, Ceausescu's law regarding the control of the wealth and riches accumulated illegally was abolished, which means that the former nomenklatura, that accumulated huge fortunes, can keep them.

The National Salvation Front [NSF] abolished the death sentence law, reconsidered it and eventually abolished it again.

The NSF, the speaker said, that declared in the beginning that it would not enter the elections, set up the Provisional National Unity Council, in which it automatically holds the majority.

Mr. Ratiu mentioned the fact that King Michael of Romania was granted an entry visa which was revoked in the last moment. In another string of ideas, he showed that the only reason for which Doru Braia was expelled was that he asked Mr. Iliescu several questions on the television.

Referring to the May elections, Mr. Ratiu specified that almost all parties contested the date requesting their postponement.

Andruta Ceausescu's Trial Resumes 26 Apr

AU2604193990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—Thursday, April 26, the trial was resumed of ex-General Nicolae Andruta Ceausescu, charged with instigating unfulfilled genocide, aggravated murder, attempted murder and failure to observe the rules in force of weapons and ammunition. The Supreme Court—Military Section—continued with the hearing of the prosecution's witnesses who brought new details regarding the circumstances of the charge.

The session was adjourned for April 27, 9 o'clock [0600 GMT].

Deputy Foreign Minister Neagu Holds Briefing

AU2604183690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1630 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—During a press conference arranged on Thursday morning Mr. Romulus Neagu, deputy minister of foreign affairs and that ministry's spokesman, spoke about the intensification after the December 22 revolution of Romania's economic relations with various international bodies. In that context emphasis was placed on Romania's recent contacts with the "Group of 24" founded by the European Economic Community (EEC) as well as with the economic development and cooperation organization. Stress was also laid on Romania's interest to collaborate with the new grouping "Dunarea-Adriatica" ["Danube-Adriatic"] made up from Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia and Hungary. To that end, Romania asked for a statute of observer at the forthcoming meeting in Vienna of the respective states which is meant "to make the first steps for getting Romania closer to the concerns of the Dunarea-Adriatica Grouping."

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also informed the journalists about the agenda of the Romanian-American relations which, in the last decade of April, held a series of meetings for "the development on new bases of the cooperation between Romania and the U.S.A., priority being given to the political, economic, social and humanitarian fields."

Defense Minister on Army's Political Neutrality

AU2704112090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0937 GMT 27 Apr 90

["Election Campaign: Statement by the National Defence Ministry"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/4/1990—The Ministry of National Defence of Romania sent a statement to the news agency ROMPRES signed by Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, relevant minister, which reads:

By virtue of the fact that the Army is a depoliticized institution, the military firmly reject their involvement in the action of political parties.

Consequently, we are against those actions attempting to draw and involve the military organism by direct or devious ways in promoting the political interests of political persons, groupings, organizations or parties.

The conscience of any military must rule over the exercise with full rights of the condition of citizens of Romania, the vote being a personal, free and decent option.

In consideration of all this, as an institution the Army has not and will not express its adhesion or non-adhesion to any political programme, platform or proclamation.

The Army is firmly determined to remain faithful only to its lofty mission of being always and under any circumstance a defender of the Romanian nation's interests, of the liberty, independence, integrity and sovereignty of our homeland.

Privatization Strategy, Steps to Market Economy

AU2604095490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0858 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Economy: Steps Toward a Market Economy"]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/4/1990—Quite recently a team of experts formed within the Ministry of the National Economy that is to ease the implementation of private economic units.

The privatization strategy in Romania is based on the general principles governing a market economy: Equal right to the existence of various forms of property by continually extending the private one till it becomes preponderant, ensurance of economic agents' autonomy, functioning of the economy as a whole upon a free-initiative and free-competition basis. In the context, attention focuses on drawing autochthonous and foreign capital, the creation and operation of adequate institutions (trade banks, stock exchanges, security societies, a.o.) non-existent before the revolution, setting up and improvement of the legal and institutional framework, liquidation and dissolution of firms, including also the regulation of bankruptcy, formation and functioning of the social security system, etc.

The state's role in managing the economy and as an owner will modify, prevailing in such spheres as the protection of soil and subsoil riches of national interest, strategic production and other vital sectors.

The team appraises the possibilities of speeding up the creation of servicing and small-industry units on the basis of free initiative, of attracting foreign capital, including that of the Romanians settled abroad, of training managers for the private economy, a.o.

The studies made so far show the need for urgent solutions to the problems regarding the elaboration of an appropriate price policy for the commodities to be purchased by private enterprisers, simplification of procedures for the setting up of various entities in the sphere of private economy with Romanian or foreign capital, granting of credits to those founding such units, ensurance of spaces, equipment and technologies for their organization.

Draft Law on Settling Strikes Published

AU2604183990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1516 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Draft Decree-Law of Strikes—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/4/1990— A draft decree law regarding settlement of collective work conflicts and the right to strike was published by the press, being submitted to public debate as the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] decided at its latest session.

Considering that the freedom of work is a fundamental right of all Romania's citizens and the exercise of the right to work is guaranteed by the country's laws, to stop or constrain an employee to work is an infraction and is punished with 3-to-six-month imprisonment or a fine amounting to 2,000-to-7,000 lei, the draft shows.

The collective work conflicts between employees and the management of the unit is solved through dialogue between the trade union representatives or, in their absence, by the employees' elected representatives, by a written intimation to the head of the unit and, afterwards, to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, by negotiations in conciliatory meetings and by strike. Strikes can be staged only if approved by more than half of the employees and only if all possibilities of settling the conflict were exhausted. They can be warning strikes, when they should last two hours at the most, strikes proper and general strikes which are announced at least three days before it starts. Organized and led by the trade union or employees' representatives, strikers cannot obstruct the activity of the ones who do not take part in the strike and of the unit's management. The trade union or employees' representatives form a delegation of 2-to-5 persons who have worked for at least six months in the unit, are over 21 years old, and were never sentenced for infraction. When the work conflict is not solved by strike the sides apply to court.

The draft forbids strike in state administrative units, the Army, the Ministry of the Interior, telecommunications, railway system, radio and television, salubrity, population's supply with strictly necessary foodstuffs—bread, milk, meat—gas, electricity, and water, and in the units working round-the-clock, in urban public transport, civil aviation, pharmacies and learning units.

After publicly debated, the draft will be submitted to the PNUC for approval in its future sessions.

TAROM Airline Workers Prepare To Strike

AU2404202290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The Ministry of Transportation announces that the negotiations between the ministry's Administrative Council and the leaders of the Free and Independent Trade Union of the Technical Personnel of TAROM Airlines failed to reach a positive result. Consequently, the strike declared by the trade union of this company will start tonight at 0000 [2100 GMT].

We were told that, in order to find an appropriate solution to the claims of the aviation technical personnel and to other issues related to the organization of the TAROM company, the specialized ministries signed normative documents that are to be submitted for approval to the government and the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]. From the viewpoint of the Administrative Council of the Ministry of Transportation, the strike is unjustified, because one should wait for the government's and PNUC's examination and approval of the aforementioned documents, which is scheduled to take effect on 1 May.

Another meeting will take place tomorrow morning between the Administrative Council of the Ministry of Transportation and the government.

Workers Suspend Strike

AU2504155790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Mr. George Alexandru, president of the Independent Trade Union of TAROM Airlines, in a telephone call to the ROMPRES agency, announced that the strike of the TAROM technical and operational personnel was suspended today, at 1350. The suspension is in force until 2400. If the claims are not resolved, the president of the TAROM Independent Trade Union said, the strike will be resumed at 0000.

Workers' Claims Resolved

AU2504203590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] This afternoon, the representatives of the Independent Trade Union of TAROM company presented the claims of the TAROM Airline technical personnel to the government. The sides agreed on working out a governmental draft decision on improving the activity of the TAROM airline, which should also include solutions to the technical personnel's claims. In the evening, the respective claims were approved by the government.

Talks on Ending Energy Workers Strike Begin

AU2304202790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] At the headquarters of the Bucharest Electrical Energy Distribution Enterprise, talks began this afternoon between the management of the Electric Power Ministry and the leaders of the "Energia" ["Energy"] Free Independent Trade Union on a package of unfavorably resolved claims, which resulted in a 24-hour warning strike. The sides agreed that the talks should be continued at government headquarters, in the presence of the competent bodies, which will examine and resolve the claims of the strikers.

New Electric Engines Delivered to USSR

AU2304121490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/4/1990—Romania has recently delivered the first high-voltage electric engines with powers between 250 and 1,000 kW as part of the works for the modernization and development of the ore improvement combine at Krivoy Rog, the USSR, where it cooperates with the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The engines are manufactured by the Electroputere Craiova, a firm known in the world for its products, including the high voltage outfit and electric locomotives.

Tokes Claims Position Misinterpreted

AU2504155090 Bucharest NEUER WEG in German 18 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Bishop Laszlo Tokes by Walter Jass; place and date not given: "My Position Was Misinterpreted"]

[Text] Timisoara residents have seen their Pastor rather seldom in past weeks. Laszlo Tokes spent more time in Bucharest, where he was needed by his political activities and functions, and abroad from where he had received and is still receiving numerous invitations. Meantime being appointed bishop of Oradea Bishopric, he recently visited the United States and some European countries. At the end of last week, he returned to Timisoara to celebrate Easter. We asked Bishop Tokes to talk about his recent trip.

[Jass] Mr. Bishop, in the United States you conducted talks with President Bush and with other official representatives. During these talks, reference was naturally made to the situation in Romania and to the relations between the United States and Romania. That is only natural and normal. Nevertheless, we would like to ask you: Were you given any instructions before your trip by someone from our country's leadership or the government in connection with your talks with American officials or were you advised to avoid certain discussions during the talks?

[Tokes] Before I went to the United States, which I was to visit following an invitation, I called on President Iliescu. Thus I travelled to Bucharest to receive instructions or advice in connection with this visit. I was only wished bon voyage. Thus I came to the conclusion that I was an independent and autonomous person, that I could visit—on the basis of the invitation that had been extended to me—various public representatives and express my political views in accordance with the pluralist and democratic nature of the system we aspire to. Like any other citizen and mainly as a man of the church, and as member of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] I am allowed to have my own views, like the representatives of the various parties throughout the country do, views which are often at variance with, let us say, public opinion. And thus I voiced my views in connection with the questions which were raised during those talks.

[Jass] These questions also included the one on granting the most favored nation status to Romania. What was your reaction to that issue? Varying reports were available in our country and disseminated by various radio stations.

[Tokes] It is surely the fault of the media that it interprets facts and does not provide people with straightforward reports on facts and about what I really said. This is the explanation for the problem. In my opinion, my stance about most-favored-nation-status was misinterpreted.

I said the following: It is known that the United States will grant most favored nation status only if all human rights are observed. What I actually did was emphasize the rights of minorities and the observance and guarantee for them, because I am of the opinion that these rights are part and parcel of human rights in general. As a matter of fact, in December the National Salvation Front and the government included this clause of guaranteeing all rights to the minorities into their declaration of intent. Thus, what I said was fully in keeping with the stance of the Romanian leadership and I believe that there is nothing outrageous to be noted in that. After my return to Romania, I immediately attended the provisional parliament proceedings, where I was welcomed kindly and with respect. There were no questions asked; only during one encounter with President Iliescu, he blamed me for not having represented the country appropriately. Therefore, there would be interpellations during the next parliament session. I am of the opinion that throughout my visit to the United States, I represented not only the Hungarian ethnic group, but also Romania. Thus, the cause for this blame is the fact that I was misinterpreted. However, my position was not an easy one, because Romania's position is often at variance with the interests of the Hungarian minority. However, as an individual I have to represent both viewpoints and interests at the same time.

[Jass] During your absence, regrettable incidents took place in Transylvania. There were rumors in this country that you had not heard about them abroad, and then there were other rumors that you had taken a stand in this connection, and again there were varying reports on this stand. What actually is the view of a figure like Laszlo Tokes, who has proved his good will and accommodation on this sensitive problem innumerable times?

[Tokes] I have to say that I was sufficiently informed about the events in the country. Naturally, I represented the stance of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania whose honorary president I am. I maintained direct contacts with Kiraly and Domokos; on the other hand, I also contacted the Ministry of Defense and thus, and through the media as well, I received my information. My stance on the aforementioned situation stemmed from the way in which I interpreted this information and I acted accordingly and informed my foreign hosts about the tragic events in Transylvania.

It was also said that I should have been in the country at such a time. I have to tell you that I wanted to interrupt my trip and return home. Therefore I made inquiries whether this was necessary and both those I contacted and I myself were of the opinion that this was not necessary, because abroad, I was in the focus of public opinion and thus, I was able to better act to eliminating this situation and to calm things in Tirgu Mures. Thus I was of the opinion that it was more important for me to stay abroad than to hurry home.

[Jass] Mr. Bishop, would you allow me a last question: Are you going to stay bishop—a position you have held a short time—or do you want to become president of the country? A foreign radio station has reported this.

[Tokes] This news made me indignant. This disinformation may have serious consequences, because—after my stances on various issues—I have enough enemies as it is. This sounds like a provocation. I have stated scores of times that by no means do I want to become a politician. I want to emphasize this once again. I will stay close to the church and continue my pastoral care.

[Jass] We thank you for this conversation.

Protests Against Return of Patriarch Teoctist

AU2404111290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0919 GMT 24 Apr 90

["Religious Life: New Protest at His Beatitude Teoctist's Return to the Patriarchal See"]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/4/1990—Painter Sorin Dumitrescu, editor of the Bucharest daily ROMANIA LIBERA's Sunday pages "The Christian World," thwarts the arguments of the Holy Synod regarding the return of his Beatitude Teoctist to the Patriarchal See.

The Synod's decision, the author shows, renewed the disbelief of the faithful and of most of the priests in the hierarchy, brought a new crisis in the relations between men of culture and the church leadership and causes worry about the moral standing of the patriarch's successor (one of the reasons for recalling Teoctist is to prepare the anointment of a less discredited successor).

Stressing that the hierarchs' grave compromises in the period of communist dictatorship "only hurt the church's being," Sorin Dumitrescu writes that the return of his Beatitude Teoctist has been tantamount to "stabilization of bureaucracy and abuse."

For a Cathedral of the Nation:

A group of initiative, made up of valuable Romanian architects, proposed to the Romanian Patriarchy, the Ministry of Cults, and the Bucharest city hall the building of the planned cathedral of the nation on the east-west axis of the city, on the vast area that had been assigned by the dictatorship to a so-called "Song to Romania" National Council.

All-country conference of Orthodox priests:

The second all-country conference of Orthodox priests of Romania will take place on May 15 at the University Theological Institute in Bucharest. The conference will mainly discuss problems of the priests' participation in exercising the church power as well as the question of the churches claimed by Greek-Catholics.

Proposal to reestablish the Army bishopric:

The "Christian World" pages in daily ROMANIA LIBERA recall that an Army bishopric operated in Romania between 192 [as received] and 1948, with

headquarters at Alba Iulia, the city where the great union of December 1, 1918 took place.

The Army command is recommended to re-establish that institution to the end of facilitating the rapprochement and collaboration between the Army and the Christian Church.

Timisoara Branch of Vatra Romaneasca Set Up

AU2504084190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0719 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—A local branch of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union has been set up in Timisoara. It does not have political purposes. The union pursues the accomplishment and continuation of the noble ideals of the December 1989 revolution, the redemption and projection to the future of the genuine Romanian national values, the good coexistence with the national minorities, in order to live in dignity in a free country and a united Europe.

DREPTATEA Encounters Distribution Problems

AU2304194590

[Editorial report] Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian on 13 April carries on page 3 an 800-word article by Ion Rusu and Sorin Cerin entitled "DREPTATEA Demands Justice," in which the authors report on results of an "inquiry-raid" in Prahova county, in the wake of complaints from the daily's subscribers that they do not receive the newspaper. The authors ascertain that the complaints are "quite justified" and blame the Prahova Post Office for failure to deliver the papers on time. They also note that many newspaper shops do not receive DREPTATEA on schedule or at all, although the papers are expedited from Bucharest on time. The article concludes that this state of affairs is "obviously imposed by some interested agencies."

Writers Union Ends Meeting, Elects Officials

AU2204141690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1254 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—The general meeting of the Writers' Union of Romania concluded Saturday, 21 April. The list of the 127 members elected to the Executive Board was presented in the closing session. The newly elected board appointed, through secret ballot, the Steering Committee made up of 21 Members, the president and the vice-president of the union.

Poet Mircea Dinescu was elected in unanimity President of the Writers' Union, and writer Stefan Banulescu vice-president. Poet Stefan Augustin Doinas was elected honorary president by open vote.

In his closing speech Mr. Mircea Dinescu expressed his belief that the Romanian writers would belong from now on to Europe and would finally be free through their ideas and creation.

Independent Students Union Holds Meeting

AU2304191690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1990—Bucharest was the venue of a meeting of delegates of the Students' Independent National Union (UNIS). In the attendance were representatives of 25 student organizations from the country's large university centres, adding to which were delegates of student trade unions which were recently created or recently affiliated to the UNIS. The UNIS was set up on March 3, 1990, as a non-governmental, apolitical organization the aim of which is to defend the students' rights and interests, in line with the declaration on human rights and the final resolution of the Helsinki conference. Representing the interests of the student movement on a national and international plane, the UNIS groups within a federative-type association a number of student organizations from all over the country which maintain their autonomy and work for the achievement of democracy, all while observing the UNIS statute.

The UNIS executive board was elected, including 25 members (one representative of each student organization in its composition) which also formed a standing steering committee.

The current structures, which include the delegates of the roughly 32.000 members, will represent the interests of some 100,000 students in the country's major higher-learning institutes.

Yugoslavs Required To Exchange Currency

LD2604120390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, April 26 (TANJUG)—As of today, Yugoslavs entering Romania will be required to exchange 200 dollars or the equivalent amount of any other hard currency for the Romanian currency leu.

The Romanian Government adopted the decision yesterday in response to a similar Yugoslav measure, implemented on January 20, affecting Romanians.

As in the Yugoslav provision, exemption will be granted to official visitors, transit passengers and tourist groups.

The Yugoslav Government provision concerns only citizens coming from East European countries. Some of Yugoslav neighbours have expressed discontent because of the provision, but Romania was the first to react.

Yugoslavia introduced the unpopular measure in order to prevent large illegal inflow of goods from East Europe and curb the hard currency outflow.

Finnish Visa Cancellation Temporarily Suspended

AU2504083190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0716 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—The Finnish Government has decided to temporarily suspend, as on 21 April 1990, the no-visa agreement between Romania and Finland, Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry announced.

As a result, Romanian citizens going to Finland on official or private trips or in transit through that country must get their entry visas at Bucharest's Embassy of Finland. Romania's foreign affairs minister, understanding the reasons of the Finnish part, it is stressed, expresses its hope that the measure would be reconsidered by the authorities to revert to the observance of all the provisions of the agreement apt to help the expansion of the bilateral relations, the exchanges between the two countries, a better knowledge and rapprochement between Romanian and Finnish citizens.

Home Trade Minister Visits West Europe

AU2604120490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0949 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Economy—Economic Contacts"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—The chief goal of the visit the Minister of Home Trade, Mr. Emilian Dobrescu, paid to West European countries was to look together with representatives of government authorities and of various firms into the possibilities of developing consumer goods between big stores included, as well as imports of foodstuffs and industrial goods in demand in the home market. He also discussed with them questions related to the setting up of joint trading companies, and to the production and delivery of equipment needed to update trade in Romania.

The discussions evinced the collocutors' interest in the situation of Romania's home trade in the conditions of the new regulations, Mr. Emilian Dobrescu stated.

Going into details, Mr. Emilian Dobrescu said negotiations were conducted in Madrid with Agrocomex, Prosol and Focoex firms on the import of citrus fruit, food for children and other alimentary products as well as on industrial goods exchanges between large shops.

The secretary-general of the Chamber of Commerce of Italy requested that a delegation of representatives of Italian firms interested in contacts and business with Romanian enterprises, for the creation of joint trading companies included, be received in Romania.

The Standa firm representative showed interest in initiating consumer goods exchanges with stores in Romania and of direct imports from Romanian suppliers. It was agreed upon that Bucharest be the venue, in May, of an exhibition of Romanian commodities where Standa firm experts are to negotiate on Romanian exports and to present their offer.

For compensation operations (export of foodstuffs and import of Romanian industrial goods), the Tengelmann Firm (FRG) wishes to negotiate specific ways in Bucharest for the setting up of joint trading companies included.

The French firms Printemps and Galeries Lafayette were also contacted for collaboration in the production and marketing of their consumer goods in Romania. They expressed their wish to exchange goods with department stores in Romania, the minister of home trade also said.

U.S. 'Satisfaction' Over Kosovo Actions Noted

LD2704022390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0105 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Washington, April 26 (TANJUG)—The U.S. State Department on Thursday expressed satisfaction over the lifting of special measures in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, the amnesty of political prisoners and the decision of the Titova Mitrovica court to acquit Azem Vlasi and the other defendants.

At the same time, however, it regretted that "human right activist" Zekerija Cana was not granted a passport to attend a Congress meeting in Washington on Tuesday.

Asked at a press conference whether he had the latest assessments of the situation regarding human rights in Kosovo, State Department Spokesman Richard Boucher said he hoped that the above-mentioned measures would mark "the opening of a political process in Kosovo."

"Dialogue and free political expression are significant for resolving the difficult problems in the province," Boucher said.

The State Department reaction follows a statement issued by the U.S. Congress Helsinki Commission today, which welcomed the lifting of the state of emergency in Kosovo and pointed out that "improvement in Yugoslavia's adjustment to its commitments from the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE documents" was noticed.

The U.S. press gave little publicity to the latest moves of the Yugoslav authorities regarding Kosovo.

Japanese Foreign Minister To Visit in May

LD2704040090 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0340 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 27 (TANJUG)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama will arrive in Belgrade at the beginning of May at the invitation of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

Loncar went on an official visit to Japan last autumn.

The Nakayama-Loncar talks will focus on economic, particularly financial and banking, cooperation.

The Belgrade talks are expected to result in the broadening of economic cooperation, especially greater exports of Yugoslav goods to the Japanese market and greater imports of technology and capital from Japan.

Tupurkovskiy Meets With PRC President

LD2604135490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Beijing, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, had talks today in Beijing with China's President Yang Shangkun about bilateral relations, the situation in the two countries, and the state of international relations.

According to a statement made by Tupurkovski after the talks, Yang Shangkun praised Yugoslavia's role in international relations, its experience and success in implementing reforms, and spoke highly about traditionally good links between the two countries.

It has also been learned that Yang stressed the similarities of the revolutions in the two countries, their commitment to developing socialism and, especially, on President Tito's role.

The sides agreed on the need to maintain top level dialogue between the two countries despite the fact that their approaches to the development of society differ to suit their specific circumstances.

Speaking about internal issues, Yang Shangkun said with a large dose of optimism that the situation in China is improving and that the leadership enjoys the support and understanding of the people. It has been learned that the Chinese president said that some of China's problems were created by an indiscriminate introduction of the Western way of life and thinking, by a sudden increase in consumption inappropriate to the country's potentials, and by a steep rise in inflation. The Chinese leadership has analyzed the problems and is working on resolving them, he added.

Although China is faced with isolation, boycott, and sanctions from some Western countries following the violent crushing of student rebellion, it is now trying to overcome this by being prepared to strengthen relations with all those who are interested but only on the basis of "five principles of peaceful coexistence, noninterference, and providing no attempts are made to impose one's will on others."

The Chinese president stressed that his country is capable of resisting outside pressures and that no hostile forces either at home or abroad could undermine its present stability.

In the course of the talks Tupurkovski and Yang Shangkun stressed the need to halt the current decline in trade between the two countries. However, there is at the moment no plan for any concrete significant measures to make this possible.

Tupurkovski described his talks with the Chinese president as very friendly.

China's official news agency XINHUA, however, reported on the visit in a very brief protocol announcement saying only that "cordial and friendly talks" were conducted.

EC Chairman Collins Assures Loncar of Support

LD2704023390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0110 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Excerpt] New York, April 26 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis and Irish Foreign

Minister Gerald Collins today gave assurances to Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar that the members of the European Community (EC) would not fail to give support to Yugoslavia at their ministerial meeting in Dublin next weekend.

They corroborated their statement by mentioning the "great results" of the Yugoslav economic reform and changes in the political field.

Loncar, de Michelis and Collins met in New York, where Loncar is heading the Yugoslav delegation to a special U.N. General Assembly session on the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

Collins, currently the EC chairman, said that Yugoslavia deserved special EC attention since its results achieved in the implementation of reforms put it at the head of East European countries, which could use Yugoslavia as an example.

The Italian and Irish foreign ministers, as well as Austrian Vice-Chancellor Riegler, showed interest in Yugoslavia's interior affairs, especially the results of the first free elections in the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. They also underlined that Europe was interested in Yugoslavia as a partner only as a whole. [passage omitted]

Government Proposes Talks on Currency Exchange

LD2704020990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0100 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has proposed to individual East European countries to settle the problems that have caused official Belgrade to reach the decision on the obligatory exchange of 200 dollars on entering Yugoslavia through talks, foreign Ministry spokeswoman Maja Levi said today.

We hope that the talks will enable us to find a solution and lift the measure which has been a necessary evil as soon as possible, Ms. Levi said.

The recent Yugoslav Government decision was brought in order to prevent the flow of foreign currency from the country, since many East European tourists engaged in the resale of mostly technical goods and clothing in order to buy foreign currency in Yugoslav banks, which they then took out of the country.

Defense Secretary Answers Assembly Questions

LD2604154790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The federal secretary for national defense's visit to commands, units, and institutions of the Armed Forces is in accordance with yearly and monthly plans of his activities. Since the daily life, work, and tasks in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] do not influence events in the society, Armed Forces officers in principle do not link their tasks with activities outside the JNA. This is the gist of the reply the Federal Secretariat for National Defense submitted today to the SFRY Assembly to delegate Vinko Jelen's question about the motives behind Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic's visit to the Fifth Army District during preelection activities in Slovenia and Croatia.

It is customary that Armed Forces officers, on occasions of their visits to units and institutions of which they are in charge, make contacts with bodies of appropriate socio-political communities. It is not known, the answer cites, that any country in the world has banned such meetings during preelection campaigns, and there is no such ban in the SFRY. To Jelen's question in what capacity the federal secretary for national defense, following the visit to Zagreb, voiced views about the inappropriateness of some parties' programs it is stressed that JNA members, in line with the Constitution, have the same rights as other SFRY citizens, including participation in the country's political life. Irrespective of the fact that Army Gen. Kadijevic gave no statements about political organizations and their programs, the Federal Secretariat points out that he cannot have less rights than other Yugoslavs in this respect.

Vilko Jelen wanted to know which legal regulation authorizes the federal secretary to prevent recruits from fulfilling their national service in their native republic. The reply stresses that in accordance with Regulation 41 of the law on military service, the federal secretary has the power to regulate the time and manner in which recruits are sent to the JNA. On the basis of this, the instruction which rules that recruits serve outside territories of their republics—that is, province—is passed.

Parliament Debates Macedonian Minorities

LD2704053190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0450 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—The process of democratization in Bulgaria is, regrettably, being accompanied by a strengthening of greater Bulgarian nationalism which goes with a refusal to recognize the national minorities, primarily Macedonians, representatives of the Yugoslav Government said at a session of the Yugoslav Parliament's Foreign Policy Committee.

They warned that Bulgaria does not recognize the existence of Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece and regards Macedonians in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia as a two-million-strong part of the Bulgarian nation.

The delegates expressed concern at the writing of the Bulgarian newspaper DUMA, the organ of the ruling party, which called for banning Ilinden (St Elias' Day) and the other organizations of Macedonians in Bulgaria.

The delegates assessed a declaration of the Bulgarian People's Assembly, which has come in place of a reply to

a message sent by the Yugoslav Parliament to the Bulgarian Parliament in mid-February, as fanning greater Bulgarian nationalism and chauvinism.

The delegates assessed that the position of the Macedonian minority in Greece is also difficult and pointed out visa problems created by Greek authorities for Aegean Macedonians, i.e., ten thousand or so Yugoslav citizens who fled or were exiled from Greece during the Greek civil war.

The problems of minorities in Albania are being attended to the least, the delegates noted, as Albania is the only country outside the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), as a relic from the hard years of the rule of Enver Hoxha.

Bosnian, JNA LC Committees Discuss LCY

AU2604210890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Apr 90 p 12

[TANJUG report: "What Is Done Is Done"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The present times are of the crucial importance for the future of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. This assessment was made during the talks between the representatives of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, devoted to finding ways to overcome the present crisis in the LCY. It is said in the statement issued after the meeting that any prolongation of the present situation helps the division of the League of Communists to deepen further and minimizes its chances to survive on the Yugoslav political scene.

The two sides agreed that the process of drafting a concept of a new meeting of the Yugoslav Communists should proceed from the fact that the LCY has concluded one stage of its activity and that this now is a new period in which the League of Communists must reform and renew itself upon new democratic program foundations and do so under the conditions of the multiparty system and the struggle for maintaining a modern federal setup of Yugoslavia.

Both sides are of the opinion that, objectively speaking, there are still some ways to halt the present confrontations in the LCY about the fate of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY. In realizing these ideas, one should—with a full historical responsibility for the fate of the LCY and the SFRY—put forth those of them which will help the LCY to renew itself under new conditions and with a clear view of the future of the Yugoslav Communists's organization. In this context, views were exchanged on the initiative started by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina to convene a new LCY congress and the initiative of the LCY organization in the JNA concerning the way to solve the present situation, which is basically starting from the said initiative and the platform of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina pertaining to the activity under new conditions.

It was also assessed that all ways to find way out of the present situation must be such as to overcome the divisions between different groups in the League of Communists, whether they are based on national, conceptual, or other bases. Full support was extended to the activities of the leadership of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its Yugoslav orientation.

Latest Results of Croatian Elections Issued

AU2604190890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Vesna Knezevic report; all numbers as heard]

[Text] [Announcer] The republican election commission has publicized the results of the first round of elections in Croatia. The results are not complete, but the end can already be discerned. Here is a report by our correspondent, Vesna Knezevic:

[Knezevic] Twenty-eight deputies have been elected to the Sociopolitical Chamber. The second round of voting will be held in 49 constituencies, and there are no final results for three constituencies. Of deputies who have been elected to the Sociopolitical Chamber, 23 seats belong to the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC], two to the League of Communists of Croatia, one to independent candidates, and one for all others.

In the first round, 53 deputies have been elected to the 116-seat Chamber of Communes. The second round will be held in 59 constituencies, and there are still no results from three constituencies. Elections will have to be repeated in the small constituencies of Pazin, Sisak, and Samobor, and then not the whole constituency, but only some polling places, so that the returns there will not essentially change the other results.

The party structure in the Chamber of Communes is as follows: The CDC has won 38 seats, the League of Communists has won six, the Coalition of National Understanding two, the Alliance of Socialists one, and all others six seats.

As concerns the 160-seat Chamber of Associated Labor, 36 delegates have been elected in the first round, the second round will be held in 71 constituencies, and reports have not been received from as many as 50 constituencies. The party structure is as follows: The CDC have the lead here, too, with the 28 seats it has won in the first round, the League of Communists of Croatia has won only five, and all others have two seats. One should say here that the Serbian Democratic Party has won one seat in each chamber.

Zagreb Assembly Unofficial Election Results

LD2604231790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Out of the total number of registered voters, slightly over 82 percent of them took part in the first multiparty elections in Zagreb.

According to final, but still unofficial figures announced today by Zagreb Assembly's information center, the 49 seats in the city assembly were all won by candidates of the Croat Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ]. Candidates from other parties failed to win a single seat.

Out of 56 seats in the Chamber of Municipalities, HDZ candidates won 30, including Boris Buzancic who is the HDZ candidate for mayor. Out of 40 seats in the Socio-political chamber, 19 were won by HDZ candidates. Djuro Perica, also an HDZ candidate, won the seat to represent the city of Zagreb in the Croat Assembly. He received 56.78 percent of all registered votes. [passage omitted]

Croatian Communists Discuss Future Plans

LD2704065190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0545 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, April 26 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes (LCC-PDC) should hold its congress by the end of the current year to establish an autonomous, democratic, socialist party of Croatia, it was said at today's session of the party leadership for Zagreb, the capital of this Yugoslav republic.

At the session, writer Vjeran Zuppa warned that the latest trends on the Croatian political scene carried the danger of the appearance of national-Bolshevism, which was his definition of the policy pursued by Dr Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) which has a convicing lead in the first round of the first multi-party elections in Croatia in the past 52 years.

According to still incomplete reports, the CDU has won 89 of the 116 seats decided so far in the 356-seat tricameral Croatian assembly. The LCC-PDC has won 13 seats and the other parties together - 26 seats.

Demos Propose New Constituion to Opposition

AU2704090190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Apr 90 p 13

[V. Simonovic report: "The Opposition Calling on the Opposition"]

[Text] Ljubljana—It is now obvious that Demos will be a convincing winner of the parliamentary elections and that it will form its government (the premier designate will probably be a Christian Democrat). Now Demos, the former opposition, has sent an invitation to the new opposition—the Communists-Reformers, Socialists, and Liberals—to cooperate with them on some vital interests of the Slovene people, but within the framework of the "program of national accord" made by Demos.

The victorious parties associated in Demos are aware of their position and responsibility toward the Slovene people, so, as Demos members put it, they are calling on other Slovene parties to work in cooperation with them and implement the program of national accord, with a view to performing priority Slovene political tasks during the times following the elections. They say that this program does not contain all the tasks and aims of the Demos' own program, but only those that would suit the new opposition parties, too. Among other things, this program includes the following tasks:

A new Slovene constitution should be adopted as soon as possible and it should proceed from the Slovene people's right to self-determination (including the right to secession), that is, from the necessity to establish Slovenia as a sovereign state. The new constitution will envisage a unicameral parliament, a cabinet type of government, and a new communal system....

In the sphere of the economy, Demos suggests that one should first establish the ownership of the present social property. They suggest that in the first stage social property should become state property and then be privatized in all those cases where state property is not needed for realizing public interest. It is said in the Demos' program that the Slovenes want to make decisions by themselves about their accession to other peoples, be they peoples in Yugoslavia or others.

"We want to have friendly relations, cooperation on equal footing, and fair and square deals with all peoples. We are in favor of a confederal setup in which Slovenia will enjoy the position of a sovereign state and full independence in all important questions, while cooperation with other confederal units is possible, too, in cases where it is justifiable and inevitable, considering relations with the EC. However, such a confederation can only be to attained by signing a completely new confederal agreement and abolishing the present federal constitution."

One of the priority tasks set by Demos is Slovenia's need for its own defense system, which would protect Slovene national interests and for which it will pay 30 percent less than it allocates for the Yugoslav People's Army at the moment. The Demos program also says the following: "Slovene soldiers should serve the Army on Slovene territory, in which one does not need other people's units. We do not oppose military agreements with other peoples, that is, republics in Yugoslavia, if they can be coordinated with the peaceful and neutral Slovene policy. One needs to abolish secret legislature and the political police, and to put the entire state administration under the control of the assembly. Slovenia also needs to have its own foreign policy, which will be neutral, and a foreign affairs ministry which will

serve that policy, and will create economic links with developed European and other states." In the shortest possible time, Slovenia will found its informational, cultural, economic, and diplomatic agencies on the territories of other peoples, as well as those of Yugoslavia. Demos will propose to the parliament—in fact, this will most probably be proposed by its government—that the Krsko nuclear power plant and the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine should be closed down by 1995.

Socialist Alliance Prepares To Replace Smole

AU2604165190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] Ljubljana—At the session of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, the ground was prepared for removing a part of the leadership with [word indistinct] ideas, headed by Smole. This was done secretively, in the form an almost unnoticeable minicoup. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic: [Begin Atanasijevic recording] There had been two reasons for this move which can be likened to a deep incision and which has been done as painlessly as possible and without making much fuss. The main reason was a rather clearly made assessment that the Slovene Socialist Alliance experienced a failure at the (?open) elections. One could also hear even some opposite views at the session of the Republican Conference Presidium. It was said that the Socialist Alliance won 13 seats in the Slovene Parliament which is, despite everything, far less than the optimists headed by Smole had expected. Critics from the ranks of traditionalists and the radical reformist wing of the Socialist Alliance have given many reasons why the organization fared badly at the elections. Speaking in favor of their stands, the traditionalists stressed that the Socialist Alliance neglected the key tenets of the Liberation Front [Osvobodilna Fronta, a Slovene front organization founded 1941 with a view to organizing people for resistance], while representatives of the reformist faction supported the theses that the young generations have their own desires and strivings and that in their opinion the Liberation Front belongs to history and not to party policy.

What the reformists most reproached the leadership for was that it relied on a cult from the past and on an illusion about the strength of the organization and therefore neglected the pragmatic battle aimed at winning votes. They also added the fact that the Presidium headed by Smole made it impossible to realize the proposal that the Socialist Alliance should timely transform itself into a socialist party and prepare itself for elections.

Since the present Presidium of the Socialist Alliance was not prepared to tender its resignation—although Joze Smole, as people in the know claim, did consider the idea several times—the radical current imposed a solution and did so without making any fuss; it suggested the formation of a preparatory committee headed by Viktor Zakelj to prepare the Congress of the Socialist Party which is to be held in June, and the formation of a council with a larger number of members to replace the Presidium, all with a view to removing from the Presidium the people with ossified ideas and opinions, including primarily Joze Smole.

This move resembled a kind of a minicoup, and people at the session who were not in the know almost failed to notice it. [end recording]

Croatian Daily Views Kucan Election Victory

AU2604202690 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Stane Pucko commentary: "A Vote for Moderates"]

[Text] Slovene reformers can be satisfied. Having received a relative majority two weeks ago in the republican Sociopolitical Chamber—which, as they themselves say, was their aim—their candidate, Milan Kucan, who they shared with the socialists, has overwhelmingly beaten the leader of the opposition, Dr. Joze Pucnik. If they remain together, the opposition will nevertheless retain a firm majority in the aforementioned chamber, while assessments of the balance of power in the whole assembly, that is in all three chambers, should wait until the electoral results are published for the communal chamber and until parties perhaps present individual candidates in the Associated Labor Chamber.

After giving their majority to the opposition parties, Slovene voters tried this week to establish a political equilibrium. With the election of Kucan as leader of the republican Presidency, they directed this collective body to the left, or to put it in a better way, to the more moderate side. With a strong Communist pedigree, Kucan has become very close to European social democracy with his party's new program entitled, "Europe, Now," even though Pucnik is in fact the current president of the Slovene Social Democratic party. One could not say for sure that Slovene voters are aware of the fact that they were deciding between two Social Democrats. A more realistic assessment would be that they weighed the long familiar Kucan—who acquired his popularity and the people's trust through his calm insistence, which he used to convince Yugoslavia and particularly the Yugoslav party, of a necessary abandonment of Bolshevism and real socialism, the very thing he successfully did in Slovenia and the republican party by knowing how to defend his reform in front of others—with the all too unfamiliar Pucnik who sharply and firmly attacked precisely that which the communist Kucan used to attain mass popularity.

In doubting Kucan's social democratic transformation, Pucnik overlooked the infamous fact that many people understood that Kucan could not and would not have defended the interests of republican sovereignty and his party sovereignty if he had personally been, or remained, a "stubborn" Communist. Moreover, voters had in Milosevic and people like him a perfect model for

comparison, and it could have been clear to them that Kucan and his like were nevertheless sincerely trying to be something quite different and new. Apart from this, they had more confirmation of the correctness of Kucan's line in the Croatian case. However, they obviously believed in Kucan more than in his party, as if they wanted to tell him that he should no longer be involved with reformed communists and should push his reasonable insistence further to the advantage of all citizens of Slovenia.

On its obvious road to independence, Slovenia has certainly acquired with Kucan a moderately unyielding presidential line in the creation of a confederal Yugoslavia and the Slovene confederal attitude to Yugoslavia. Most people in Slovenia identify with and even need the idea of independence. By voting for Kucan, however, they have expressed the desire and wish that tiring, and above all, uncertain conflicts are not entered into.

Kucan came to the republican helm after an open electoral battle with those who think differently. He should not really deceive himself too much with the thought that he will be able to steer the republican boat in as calm waters as possible, waters which are otherwise sympathetic towards him. His election does not of course tally with the calculations of the opposition which, if it receives a majority in the assembly, will soon try to control him, push him into more decisive and aggressive maneuvers, and even perhaps destroy him. This will be a situation that is nevertheless familiar to Kucan because he has already been caught often enough between the federal and republican stools, that is to say, he has been attacked from the front while being pushed and stabbed in the back. He must also pay attention to the strong tendencies to limit the jurisdiction of the republican Presidency, which probably would not have been the case had Pucnik won.

Kucan has indeed been elected but he will have to consolidate his position by proving his social-democratic transformation. He will after all be pushed into this by the very composition of the Presidency which contains two Demos representatives. If his reformist party (the League of Communists of Slovenia) is not sufficiently quick and effective as regards its social-democratic program, Kucan will have to inevitably distance himself from his own party if he wants to retain his position. Kucan has probably already sensed this since he has already announced that he will discard his party membership card during his term of office as president. However, he announced this before the elections and he forgot to repeat it afterwards. One should therefore wait and see if he will really do this. The most interesting question however is whether he will retrieve his party membership card at all once his term of office has come to an end.

Slovene Youth Council Founded

LD2604222490 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Summary] Representatives of 17 youth organizations founded the Youth Council of Slovenia in Ljubljana today. The organization is envisaged as an advisory and coordinating body dedicated to youth issues and as a launching pad for a future Ministry of Youth in the Slovene government.

Serbian Legislature Views Economic Reform

LD2604224590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serbia wishes to implement an economic reform on an equal basis with everyone else in Yugoslavia, in an integral Yugoslav market, Serbian State Presidency Member Dr. Jurij Bajec said at a Serbian parliament session today.

Bajec urged that the federation be firmer in developing all forms of ownership and transforming social ownership into social capital. Bajec said he believed that this area requires unique solutions for the whole country and announced that Serbia would create them alone if necessary.

Bajec supported the proposal about the forming of an expert agency which would help firms reorient themselves financially, technologically and personnel wise so that they could operate more efficiently.

The opening of a great number of small and medium-sized firms in Serbia will mark the new development of this republic, Bajec announced.

Serbian Vice-Premier Filip Grujic warned that the bringing down of inflation, the high growth of foreign trade, and better market supply, were accompanied by declining production and growing insolvency of firms and banks. The Serbian Government therefore proposes that insolvent firms be determined and that help be given to those firms which can operate better, Grujic said